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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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25 April 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN SLAIN AT EMBASSY IN PARIS

Engineer, Party Member

NC011750 Paris AFP in English 1737 GMT 1 Apr 84

[Text] Paris, 1 Apr (AFP)--The body of a man, a kitchen knife in his heart, was found here early today on the sidewalk outside the Romanian Embassy, where a witness told police he landed after a fall from a third floor embassy window.

Police identified the victim as Nicolae Iosif, 52, from Bucharest. They said he carried a professional engineer's card and a membership card in the Romanian Communist Party.

A resident of a building abutting the embassy said that, "from the position of the body, it could only have come out of a window. It really looked like somebody who landed with a big splat. It was stretched out on its stomach, head to the side, both hands under the body."

The body was taken to a forensic laboratory for autopsy.

The Romanian Embassy was not answering its telephone or opening its front door Sunday night, and French police were not able to gain entrance because of Romanian sovereignty on the property.

No Official Romanian Comment

NC021907 Paris AFP in English 1857 GMT 2 Apr 84

[Text] Paris, 2 Apr (AFP)--Events which led to a Romanian carpenter being found stabbed to death yesterday on the pavement outside his country's embassy here remained shrouded in mystery today. French police gave few details of the enquiry and Romanian Embassy officials were unavailable for comment.

The Paris Public Prosecutor's Office today filed charges against a person or persons unknown for the murder of the man, who was carrying papers identifying him as Nicolae Iosif, 52, from Bucharest.

A knife was found near the body, which appeared to have fallen from the embassy windows on the third floor and had been stabbed several times, including once in the heart.

However, police have been unable to enter the embassy because of its extra-territorial status.

In reply to all queries by telephone, the switchboard operator at the Romanian Embassy here has been saying: "Everybody is out. Please call back tomorrow."

An autopsy carried out this morning showed that Mr Iosif had been stabbed with considerable force. Examination of his hands also showed that he was a manual worker.

Mr Iosif, who did not have diplomatic status, was carrying a membership card in the Romanian Communist Party as well as a professional card identifying him as an engineer.

However, he was registered with the French Consulate in Bucharest as a cabinet-maker.

Eastern European countries traditionally bring in their own nationals to carry out repair work and modifications to their embassies abroad.

CSO: 2020/81

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN GDANSK--The USSR ambassador, Aleksander Aksionov, has been touring coastal districts around Gdansk. The Soviet ambassador was the guest of Stanislaw Bejger, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR provincial Committee in Gdansk. At a meeting with members of the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Council and party officials from the Tricity area the ambassador was briefed on problems associated with local party activities, the size of the local party membership, and the programs and goals of the local party organization. Social and economic problems of Gdansk Province were also discussed. The Soviet guest met with officers of the Gdansk chapter of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. A. Aksionov paid a visit to the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk and met with representatives of shipyard workers. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Mar 84 p 2]

CSO: 2600/858

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN REFUGEES WORRIED ABOUT SECRET SERVICE

AU091337 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 9 Apr 84 p 3

[Text] Vienna--The Bulgarian secret service is again involved in a mysterious murder affair whose tracks this time lead to Vienna. The new affair began with the "suicide" on 13 December last year in Paris of the exiled Bulgarian politician Krasimir Peev. Peev was found hanged in his apartment.

However, only the evening before he had telephoned Bulgarian dissidents in Vienna and was full of plans for the future. Bulgarian expatriate circles in Europe investigating the affair are becoming more and more convinced that it was not suicide, no more than other cases of "suicide" among Bulgarians abroad, and they draw attention to the poison umbrella assassination of expatriate Bulgarian Georgi Markov on 7 September 1978 at a London bus stop. They also refer to the fact that the Italian prosecutor's office has compiled new incriminating evidence against the Bulgarian Antonov in connection with the abortive attempt to assassinate the pope.

Bulgarian expatriates are now particularly worried about developments in Vienna, especially since the strange visit to the Austrian capital by Bulgarian Interior Minister Dimitur Stoyanov last December. This was the first appearance of a Bulgarian interior minister in a Western country. The Bulgarian interior minister had earlier threatened all Bulgarian expatriates, saying that "the long arm" of the Bulgarian security organs could "destroy enemies anywhere in the world."

In Vienna the Bulgarian Embassy's facilities have been substantially expanded lately. Bulgarian expatriates in Europe are now worried that Vienna may become the West European center of this "long arm" of the Bulgarian secret service.

CSO: 2200/103

BULGARIA

OLYMPIC CHAIRMAN ON GAMES, USSR 'DECLARATION'

AU101943 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 19 Apr 84

[Text] Sofia, 10 April (BTA)--The Olympic Games are the property of the International Olympic Committee, said Mr Ivan Slavkov to a BTA representative who talked with the chairman of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee on the declaration of the National Olympic Committee of the USSR.

Recalling some basic rules of the Olympic Charter on the IOC supreme power (Rule 4), the ban of demonstrations and propaganda activities in the Olympic zones (Rule 5), Mr Ivan Slavkov pointed out that already right now serious deviations from and violations of some aspects of the games in Los Angeles are already being made.

Unfortunately, the previous course of the preparations for the summer Olympic Games does not see the necessary changes despite the requirements raised to LAOOC and the U.S. Government in the declaration of the General Assembly of the National Olympic Committees of January 1983, the chairman of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee stressed. [Sentence as received] In his opinion, contrary to the given promises the federal, state and local governments are allowing political immigrant and religious groupings to fan up psychosis and insecurity, to exert moral and mental pressure. It is obvious, Mr Slavkov emphasized, that if no energetic steps are taken on the part of the IOC, the main goal of the games would not be attained--to educate the young people in a spirit of mutual understanding, for building a better and more peace-loving world, for the triumph of the international good will.

The Bulgarian Olympic activist branded as direct interference and an unprecedented case the request by the U.S. State Department 2 months before the games that the list of names of Olympic athletes of the participating countries are presented at the U.S. embassies and LAOOC. [Sentence as received] "During my recent visit to Greece we shared our common concern with my colleagues of the National Olympic Committee over the unprecedented commercialization of the games and in particular of the Olympic torch," Mr Slavkov stressed.

It is obvious that the Olympic Games are put in the service of preelectoral ambitions of certain political circles, that they are being turned into an instrument of international confrontation and tension. This urges the critical intervention of the IOC and its Executive Committee which is to give the expected answer to the questions raised in the Soviet National Olympic Committee's declaration, Mr Ivan Slavkov wound up.

BRIEFS

ZHIVKOV CABLES CHERNENKO, KUZNETSOV--Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, today sent a telegram from on board his aircraft to Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade Kuznetsov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It States: Flying over the territory of the great Soviet country, I send to you and all Soviet people the most heartfelt fraternal congratulations and sincere wishes for happiness and prosperity, new great successes in perfecting a developed socialist society under the leadership of the Leninist Party, and the further deepening and dynamic development of all-round cooperation and rapprochement between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, and the strengthening of life-giving Bulgarian-Soviet friendship for the benefit of our peoples and in the interests of peace and socialism. [From the Vremya newscast--announcer-read report] [Text] [LD022150 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Apr 84]

WPC'S ROMESH CHANDRA ARRIVES--Romesh Chandra, chairman of the World Peace Council, has arrived in Sofia to attend the 14th Congress of the International Students Union. In an interview with a correspondent of "Khorizont" radio program, he termed this forum one of the most important international events in 1984. It is being held in particularly serious and tense times. The WPC Presidium, Romesh Chandra emphasized, is convinced that new initiative and plans will emerge in Sofia that will strengthen the world peace movement. [Text] [AU120933 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 12 Apr 84]

ETHIOPIAN VICTORY DAY NOTED--Comrade Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria [BCP], and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, today sent a message of congratulations to Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, PMAC [Provisional Military Administrative Council] and COPWE chairman and commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, on the 43rd anniversary of Victory Day celebrations. Comrade Todor Zhivkov, in a message sent to Comrade Chairman Mengistu, on behalf of the BCP, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, its people, and on his own behalf, said the people of Bulgaria recall with admiration the historic stand taken by the broad masses of Ethiopia against fascist aggressors for freedom. One of the true sons of Bulgaria, Georgiy Dimitrov, stated that the country's communists and all progressives had given their sincere support to this struggle. The message affirmed that at this time when imperialist forces and international reactionaries backed by their U.S. and NATO collaborators are trying their best to hinder the victorious march of the Ethiopian revolution, the communists of Bulgaria and the working people

stand alongside the Ethiopian people's struggle for prosperity, for development, and for respect of their national freedom and territorial integrity. In his congratulatory message, Comrade Zhivkov pointed out that the people of Bulgaria are following with sincere interest and are gratified by Socialist Ethiopia's achievements in the political, economic, and social sectors, and expressed their hope that the patriotic people of Ethiopia will attain new and greater results on the path of development they have chosen for themselves. In this connection he expressed his sincere belief that friendly relations between the BCP and COPWE and the people of the two countries would be further expanded for the benefit of the people of the two countries, for social prosperity, and for peace. [Text] [EA061417 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 0900 GMT 5 Apr 84]

LEADERS AT GREEK RECEPTION--On 26 March Ioannis Bourloyannis-Tsangarides, Greek ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a reception on his country's national holiday. Comrades Pencho Kubadinski, Todor Bozhinov and Georgi Yordanov attended the reception. [Excerpt] [AU011512 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 26 Mar 84]

GDR HEALTH COOPERATION PLAN--On 29 March in Sofia a plan was signed on co-operation in health protection and medical science between Bulgaria and the GDR. The plan was signed by Academician Atanas Maleev, first deputy minister of national health and chairman of the Medical Academy, and by Dr Bodo Schoenheit, GDR deputy minister of health. Academician Radoy Popivanov, Bulgarian minister of health, and representatives of the GDR Embassy in Sofia attended the ceremony. [Text] [AU081545 Sofia RABOTNICHESKI DELO in Bulgarian 30 Mar 84 p 2]

HUNGARIAN NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION--Jeno Sebestyen, Hungarian ambassador to Bulgaria, has given a reception at the Hungarian Embassy on the occasion of the national day of his country. The reception was attended by Stanko Todorov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Grigor Stoichkov; Peko Takov, deputy chairman of the State Council; chiefs of departments at the BCP Central Committee, members of the government, generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army, and eminent figures of science, art, and culture as well as chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria. The reception was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [AU081545 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 3 Apr 84]

YOUTH PEACE CONFERENCE--Sofia, 4 April, (BTA)--A scientific-practical conference--"The Role of Youth and Students in the Struggle for Peace and Disarmament, Against the Nuclear Threat"--ended here today. Bulgarian and foreign students from 14 countries, studying in Bulgaria, took part in the conference. Over 100 reports were delivered in the 3 days of the conference. Its work was carried out by three sections: "The participation of the youth and students in the national democratic fronts and in the struggle against fascism"; "The struggle of the world democratic youth and the students for peace and disarmament, against the nuclear threat"; and "the role of the youth and the students in the struggle for democracy and social progress." [Excerpts] [AU081530 Sofia BTA in English 1253 GMT 4 Apr 84]

CUBAN MEDALS FOR WORKERS--Eustasio Remedios de los Cueros, Cuban ambassador to Bulgaria, tonight presented Cuban medals to the Fidel Castro builders' brigade attached to the Bulgarian Sofstroy construction enterprise, which excelled in building a number of public buildings in northern Cuba. Petur Dyulgerov also presented to this brigade the Golden Badge of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Councils. [Summary] [AU081530 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 6 Apr 84]

FINANCIAL PROTOCOL WITH AUSTRIA--At the invitation of Herbert Salcher, Austrian minister of finance, Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, paid an official visit to Austria from 4 to 6 April. A protocol on exchanging the ratification documents on the Bulgarian-Austrian agreement on avoiding double taxation of incomes and properties was signed. [Text] [AU081530 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 19 GMT 6 Apr 84]

CSO: 2200/104

PARLIAMENTARIANS OUTLINE CHANGES IN GENERAL EDUCATION

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 28 Feb 84 p 2

[Unattributed article]

[Text] In the last few days, all committee meetings of the Slovak National Council [SNR] had one common item on their agendas: discussing the government proposal of the Law on the System of Primary and Secondary Schools [and] the government proposal of the SNR law which changes and supplements the Law on State Administration of the School System and the SNR Law on School Classification.

The parliamentarians agreed that it is necessary to emphasize the attention which had been given to the preparation of these laws. Naturally, they are of interest to the general public, primarily, of course, to the teachers and parents. That is understandable. After all, particularly the law which deals with the system of primary and secondary schools represents great changes, democratization of education.

Its main objective is the introduction of obligatory 10-year school attendance. That means boys and girls will have to go to school until their 16th year, attending after the eighth grade of primary school one of the three types of secondary schools for at least 2 years. The exceptions are students who, because of poor grades, will reach their 16th birthday in a lower grade of the primary school. Thus a decisive majority will attain secondary school education which will be a prerequisite for attaining full high school education. This young people will attain after another 2 years of study by passing the school-leaving examination. The secondary schools will be attended by pupils--this establishes their legal status and eliminates the hitherto existing classification of college-preparatory high-school students, technical-school pupils and apprentices (for until today, the latter category in some places had not lost its somewhat degrading meaning, a subconscious carry-over from the past).

And what were the parliamentarians concerned about on the basis of their research, what questions did they direct more frequently to the highest representatives of the Ministry of Education, to the minister or his deputies?

In connection with the secondary vocational schools--and it is precisely here where 60 percent of our youth are preparing themselves for their future occupation--they concerned themselves with the master craftsmen in vocational education. Not all of these have the necessary education, teaching experience, rapport with youth. Moreover, these positions are often being filled by workers whom the enterprise wants to get rid of... The new concept of conducting military education also keeps evoking discussion. Once it was a separate subject, now it is a component of several subjects (geography, history), and the center of gravity is being shifted to military exercises; there are 120 hours allotted to them in the school year... Those parliamentarians who are members of the Committee for Schools and Culture were gratified to learn that the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of the SSR gives occupational information to the graduates of college-preparatory high schools who passed the school-leaving examination also in a subject from a vocational field and who, thanks to an attestation on their certificates, can work at jobs where until now secondary vocational training was necessary. Such students have frequently met with a lack of understanding in the plants... The parliamentarians also wondered if each school should not have its own psychologist, since the number of children who are hard to handle is on the increase. If several of them are concentrated in one class of a 2-year educational program which is following a prescribed curriculum, rather serious problems may arise. Pupils will be placed there who would not want to continue their studies of their own accord after the eighth grade because of bad marks...

The discussions at the meetings of the SNR committees lasted longer than usual. That, too, testified to the fact that the educational system is one of the areas that remain in the center of attention of all of us. Because of the necessity of solving many problems, the bill was presented by the government in a form that enables it, as stated in the resolution, to "codify to the necessary extent all questions concerning the system of primary and secondary schools and their educational and instructional mission in accordance with the document 'Further Development of Czechoslovak Educational and Instructional Mission.'"

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CSO: 2400/274

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POST-DEPLOYMENT POLITICS DISCUSSED IN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE ORGAN

East Berlin IPW BERICHTe in German Vol 13 No 3, Mar 84 pp 8-13

[Article by Hans Pirsch "The Antagonism of Ideologies and International Relations--Incompatibility of Conceptions of the World No Reason for War"]

[Text] International relations between states with differing social orders have become extremely aggravated--particularly in connection with the new round in the nuclear arms race initiated by the deployment of cruise missiles and Pershing II in Western Europe. The extreme situation has led all who are assessing the forces in the world to the estimate that the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war has never yet been as great as it is today.

This development in international relations was triggered by the neoconservative conceptualizers of the most aggressive U.S. monopoly capital circles who worked out a confrontation strategy that was converted into practical policy under the Reagan administration. The U.S. President himself has called his foreign policy concept a "crusade against communism" which would not only defend the "values of the free world" but should bring them everywhere by all--even military--means to places where peoples have already opted for a different, essentially distinct, social order.

The champions of the confrontation policy derive the inevitability they have proclaimed of permanent conflict and war between capitalist and socialist states from their ideological and social antagonism.

It is thus of great importance for turning back the U.S. confrontation policy and for orienting the peace forces to settle the question whether antagonistic ideologies must inevitably lead to the kind of relations between states, in particular between those of socialism and imperialism, that are defined by militaristic confrontation or even war.

Interaction Between Base and Superstructure

About the relations between economics, politics and ideology, Friedrich Engels wrote: "The economic situation is the base, but the various elements in the superstructure--political forms of the class struggle and its results--constitutions, forms of law, and even the reflexes of all these real struggles in the minds of those involved, political, juridical, philosophical theories, religious

views and their further development into dogmatic systems, also have their effect on the course of historic struggles and in many cases principally determine their form. There is an interaction among all these elements through which finally, after an infinite number of contingencies, the economic movement prevails as a necessity."¹

Engels proved that policy and ideology play an active role in history and that it is impossible to "explain economically" all social developments, "without making oneself ridiculous."² On a different occasion he wrote: "Political, legal, philosophic, religious, literary, artistic and other developments are based on economic development. But they all react to each other and to the economic base. It is not the case that the economic situation is the cause that is solely at work and everything else, merely the passive effect."³ That idea is also singled out in a letter to Franz Mehring saying that "a historic element, once brought into the world by other, ultimately economic, causes, then also reacts with repercussions on its own environment, even on its own causes."⁴

There is no doubt then about the connection between ideology and policy. Political goals and the means and methods of a state maintain an interrelationship with the basic ideas of the prevailing class forces through the world and human society. The prevailing ideology significantly affects the prevailing policy. That by no means contradicts the materialist conception of history, to the effect that "in the last instance, the determinant in history is the production and reproduction of real life."⁵

The active role of ideology is twofold. In interaction with economic and political factors, it affects the concrete reflection of objective class interests in the consciousness of the given class forces and the formation of political goals based on it as well as the choice of the means and methods to be used for their realization. In other words: ideology helps form political strategy and tactics.

At the same time, in paving the way intellectually, it serves the implementation of policy through ideological clarification and a corresponding influence it brings to bear on the masses.

As the revolutionary world process advances, the ideological struggle inevitably also grows. Relative to today's imperialism that means that because of the consolidation of real socialism and its growing influence in the world, the advance of the revolutionary world process and the further development in the general crisis of capitalism--an immense concentration of capital and power in the hands of a few and thus a sharp class and interest polarization and a sharpening of the antagonistic contradictions--working out conceptions for all sectors of public life and for enforcing them and shoring them up has become imperative for the ruling class to bring its interests to realization.

Increasing Influence by Ideology on Imperialist Foreign Policy

In the foreign policy field this connection also becomes apparent.

The goal of imperialist foreign policy is to preserve the conditions for its existence, i.e. conditions for its expansion and predominance, in conformity

with monopolist profit interests, or, because they are greatly confined by real socialism, to regain them. The ruling circles are compelled to seek ways to reconstitute their unbridled action capability, that is to say, to push back and destroy socialism and any other democratic people's movement that would rid its country of imperialist tutelage. That enhances the role of those ideologues who are drafting conceptions for the implementation of imperialist foreign policy goals.

Once the rulers have chosen one of the possible strategies, it must be shored up to be realized. Because of the progressive class and interest polarization within the imperialist states, such shoring up calls for growing ideological efforts, quantitatively and qualitatively--especially when such foreign policy conceptions clearly contradict the realities and objective requirements of the international situation and fail to be supported by a large number of citizens, such as in Ronald Reagan's heading toward nuclear war. While the class struggle is being internationalized, accompanied with the trend of increasing collaboration of all reactionary forces against socialism, it leads to the desire also to invest more ideological means to prevent contradictions between the various imperialist states and between them and the developing countries from breaking open. That also is served by the ever more determined "propaganda campaign" by the U.S. administration on its confrontation policy.

The existence and radiation of socialism in various ways affects the feasibility and tenability of imperialist foreign policy strategies. Its openly and tenaciously pursued foreign policy strategy--peaceful competition between opposed social systems and cooperation for mutual advantage with respect for the sovereignty of the other side--is more and more being recognized as the only apt form of interstate relations, particularly because of its practical results worldwide.

In this sense then, in the foreign policy field a confrontation is taking place between opposite strategies and, as they are class conditioned reflections of reality, between antagonistic ideologies. The question only is whether such antagonism between ideologies is bound to lead to military confrontation.

War in the Foreign Policy Strategies of Socialism and Imperialism

One comes closer to an answer when one examines how the socioeconomic foundations already, of socialism on the one side and of imperialism on the other, affect the problems of war and peace.

This question has been of practical significance to world politics since 1917. Lenin addressed it then and established the idea that the implacability between social systems does not preclude a peaceful juxtaposition of states but, on the contrary, makes their mutual advantageous cooperation in many different fields possible. Partly he proceeded from the fact there that socialism has no economic interest in expansion and war but that peace, rather, is prerequisite to the planned and fruitful development of the new society. Socialism's foreign policy strategy therefore is determined by the peaceful coexistence principle--banning war from international relations.

Moreover, the struggle for peaceful relations between socialist and imperialist states also takes account of important bourgeois interests, e.g. those in economic and scientific-technical collaboration. "The case simply is," Lenin wrote, "that the most incontestable and urgent practical interests of all capitalist powers require the development, accommodation and expansion of trade with Russia. Once such interests exist, one may disagree or quarrel, to be sure, may split up in various combinations, but at long last this fundamental economic need itself will come to prevail."⁶ This at once suggests that there is a real basis for peaceful cooperation among nations, even when their social orders and world-outlooks are antagonistically opposed.

That basis has extraordinarily broadened through the development of a number of global problems that can be resolved only through the cooperation of all states. The most essential of these issues, involving the survival of all mankind, is that of preventing a nuclear catastrophe, which would destroy all humanity. Representatives of the monopoly bourgeoisie and other apologists of capitalism who think realistically in this regard also respond to it by saying that the conflict between the systems must not incur such a cost.

Especially in view of these new dangers, the socialist states are confirming their position that ideological struggle must and can preclude military struggle. Yuri Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has said: "We take it for granted that the historic contest between two social systems, the struggle of ideas, is a perfectly inevitable phenomenon due to the fact that both socialism and capitalism exist. We resolutely oppose, however, directing this historic confrontation at the reduction of peaceful cooperation, or worse, at the level of nuclear war."⁷

Expansionism not only contradicts the socioeconomic base of socialism, it also is alien to the socialist states because of the historic optimism they are gaining from their Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. They have the theoretical and practical wherewithal to prove their superiority over capitalism the peaceful way, taking for an accepted fact that the socialist revolution cannot and need not be exported because the working class in every country, for reasons of objective inevitabilities, will sooner or later conform to its historic mission.

It is different with the bourgeois ideology. Capitalism, its basis, is expansive in essence. To make a maximum use of itself, monopoly capitalism busts through national borders. Lenin explained this expansionist nature of capitalism while there existed monopolies and demonstrated "that on such an economic basis, as long as the means of production are privately owned, imperialist wars are absolutely unavoidable."⁸

Since 1920, when Lenin wrote that, the chances for imperialism to implement its expansionism have been significantly confined. The socialist world system was brought about, and the front of the peace forces has broadened extraordinarily. Because of that, worldwide military conflict has been avoided for nearly 40 years. Nevertheless--and this is mainly proven right now by U.S. intervention in Central America and the Near East--there continues to be the risk that imperialist states, as soon as they feel superior militarily, will trigger wars wherever they see their economic or political interests in jeopardy or promise themselves gaining such advantages.

It has already been suggested that within the ruling class in the imperialist states, because of strong forces opposing its expansionism, there are differences of views about the manner in which it could maintain or restore its supremacy in certain regions or in the whole world. An example of it are the views about which the most effective U.S. imperialist policy would be in the states of the Gulf region, where U.S. monopoly capital has raised the claim to having "vital" interests to defend, i.e. cheap petroleum. Some U.S. bourgeois circles are of the opinion such interests be better served by economic relations without the use of military force. But those that adhere to the Reagan administration, under the not insignificant influence of an anticommunist threat hysteria and a presumptuous hegemonism, favor the threatening of military force in the struggle for Gulf oil. They have frankly attested to their willingness to unleash a military conflict once they think energy supplies for the United States from that region are in jeopardy.

This by itself makes clear that international relations are exacerbated and burdened, not by the antagonism between socialist and bourgeois ideology--which, as we have seen, must be understood, not as a unified structure of ideas, but as an extremely differentiated, diversified and self-contradictory bourgeois reflection of objective reality. What makes imperialism frenetically look for a way out, rather, are its expansionist and world domination drives still going on in all areas and regions of the world in spite of its curtailed elbow room for action. It then also conforms with the aggressiveness inherent in imperialism that militaristic and adventurists conceptions are being drafted and pursued such as the confrontation strategy practiced at this time by the Reagan administration.

This extremely anticommunist and hegemonistic conception is in substance far removed from any opportunity to realize its goals. It is based on a misconception of the international power ratio and is shored up by fantasies about the threat, chauvinistic ideas, religiously embroidered missionary presumptions and--particularly vis-a-vis the West European partners--by invoking an alleged community of values and an "Atlantic solidarity," that in reality means knuckling under U.S. imperialist interests. As this conception runs counter to the basic interests of humanity in peace, it calls for an especially intensive shoring up by an ideological manipulation of the masses. This way, agreement and support for military confrontation and arms buildup are to be generated also in those classes and strata whose objective interests are diametrically opposed to such a political course. By unleashing such moods--at times driven to hysteria--entire nations have frequently been driven into war throughout history.

The danger to international relations thus is that such a militant ideology comes to determine policy and the most aggressive imperialist circles can use the ideological struggle against socialism for preparing, along with it, the use of military means. The socialist states are opposing that the only way they possibly can, by economic, political and military efforts that will demonstrate to the most aggressive faction of the bourgeoisie, bent on military adventure, the hopelessness of their design--and also by revealing the ideological intrigues of those circles before the world public.

Basic Postulates of the Reagan Foreign Policy and Its Consequences

How then did in the concrete case of Reagan's crusade policy militant ideology become transformed into foreign policy?⁹

An important point of departure--coupled with the anticommunist myth about the threat--lay in addressing national sentiments and deforming them into nationalistic chauvinism, the kindling of an "America above all" sentiment. The designers of the current U.S. government course are picking up in this feelings of public dissatisfaction with the role of the government, the loss of a hegemonial position, paraphrased as Vietnam, Watergate or Teheran syndrom. To many U.S. citizens Reagan's political concept appeared as a way out of the decline of the United States and the "lethargy" it had led to.

"I have long believed," Reagan said, "there is a divine plan given this land to a people with a special calling. God has placed the fate of a hard pressed humanity into our hands."¹⁰

The foreign policy consequence of that vision was proclaimed by Alexander Haig as secretary of state under Reagan: "We can exceed the postwar ideas of half a free world and imagine a whole world with greater freedom."¹¹ What has here been declared as a lofty search for freedom--where one again picks up a positive value--is tantamount of course to a declaration of war against all states that have written on their banners values different from those of the United States.

"The era of scruples is past,"¹² the U.S. President announced, and shortly thereafter the whole world could convince itself of it, as far as his government policy was concerned. The U.S. government has sought to enforce its presumed global leadership claim since the end of World War II through unexampled unscrupulousness--with political and economic pressure and blackmail, the threat and use of military force, and the conceiving and practical preparation of the most adventurist plans, even some for conducting nuclear war. That is indicated by the intervention in Grenada and Lebanon and the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe against the will of the majority of the populations in the countries concerned, or by initiating the militarization of space.

These very actions in realizing the hegemonial claims make clear that they appear to U.S. imperialism enforceable by no other than militant means. That also is confirmed by one of Reagan's remark in connection with the attack on Grenada: "The world expects leadership of America, and America turns to the members of its armed forces, the marine corps, the navy, the army."¹³

Such a militant course can be whipped through only, of course, if there is an enemy image that goes along with it. In this, Reagan and his neoconservative ideologues like Podhoretz, Pipes, Gray, or Kirkpatrick do not refer to real facts but make use of an unreal anticommunist moralism that presses the world into a schema of good versus evil.

Communism, according to the representatives of the confrontation strategy, is "a deviation, no normal way of life for human beings."¹⁴ Socialist society as it really exists constituted "barbarism" (Podhoretz) and the "center of evil in the modern world" (Reagan). According to the conception of morality by those crusaders, civilization has to get rid of communism, which even makes the means of war legitimate. That is part of the ideological background against which U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has announced: "We must be ready to go to war today if necessary."¹⁵

As one knows, the conceptions of those imperialist forces are pervaded by the idea that even in the era of the most terrifying weapons of mass destruction there are more important things than peace. Above peace, as they understand it, there are those basic principles of the capitalist exploiter society that are being paraphrased, to mislead, by the term of "freedom." They, so is their intention, are to be carried through the entire world, if necessary by the violent overthrow of socialist or other progressive governments or by open military aggression. "Rather dead than red," this adventurist maxim is haunting the minds of those who govern the United States and pushes them into military adventurism. "Reagan did, to be sure, not use the formula 'rather dead than red,' but made clear that in his view it would be better to be dead than red," the U.S. news agency UPI reported a speech by the U.S. President to the National Evangelists Association on 8 March 1983.

They constantly seek to arouse the impression by use of that slogan as if the capitalist states had to defend themselves against a real danger from the outside, as if their "freedom" were threatened by military aggression emanating from socialist countries.

Extremely reactionary and aggressive forces in Western Europe also derive from such a fiction the justification for a nuclear war crime global in scope. There is, for instance, Wolfgang Kluxen, philosophy professor at Bonn University. He raises the question under what conditions it would be justified to start a nuclear war even if--he explicitly states--the human species would perish in it. The formulation by itself is typical: "Is it allowable, under whatever conditions, to opt for and cause the doom of all?" Kluxen points out that on that also would depend "the question of nuclear arms, of owning and producing atomic weapons." The professor's answer is: "Dignity is more important than existence." He contends "that the latent threat of force by the 'red' war is neutralized by the readiness to take the risk of nuclear war out of moral conviction by taking account of all its consequences and to insist on arming against it."¹⁶

First it may be pointed out that by justifying that way the production and ownership of nuclear weapons and the nuclear arms buildup referred to as "arming against it," the circles of the military-industrial complex that are interested in arms production are reinforced and encouraged in their perilous course while they also get furnished arguments, appearing in the garb of science, to justify the confrontation strategy in front of the masses. Actually, the theory of these conservatives illuminates the direct connection between anticommunist postulates--human dignity as threatened by communism, and the West, by "red war"--and the nuclear arms buildup policy by the most aggressive imperialist U.S. circles.

The monstrosity of this mode of thinking by the imperialist forces becomes, however, still more drastic. Kluxen, after all, had asked whether it was allowable to cause a nuclear war that would destroy all mankind. His answer is redolent of abysmal antihumanity and cynical nihilism: "If we face the chance of physical decline to which the alternative would be moral decline, there can be no doubt about what to choose. Human existence truly becomes impossible if we abandon what dignifies that existence. Dignity cannot be renounced."¹⁷

This pattern for ideological action pushes its adherents into other most adventurous consequences menacing to mankind in the extreme. Accordingly, any progressive anti-imperialist, democratic or socialist, development in capitalist states or in developing countries, resulting from the inherent inevitabilities of the social order prevailing there, and by no means exported by the socialist states--as is often being alleged--must be forcibly struck down in the name of human dignity. So from the mere allegation of an external military threat against the imperialist social order and its so-called values, the need for a nuclear arms buildup and the legitimacy of a first nuclear strike are derived in the name of dignity and morality.

And more still. Reagan and the imperialist circles behind him take it for granted that their conception of human existence and dignified conditions of life applies not only to their own power sphere but is universal. "Rather dead than red" should then also have to be valid for people who already, relying on the right to self-determination, have opted for the socialist social order. From such conceptions, the imperialist circles derive a "duty"--contradicting international law--to meddle in the internal affairs of sovereign states and commit military aggression. Ultimately, so they say, it is better to destroy all mankind than tolerate the socialist social order. That is the deadly political essence of that ideology that appears under such slogans as "dignity precedes existence," "rather dead than red," or "peace in freedom."

Realistic Bourgeois Conceptions Against the Crusading Course

It is not only this utterly reactionary tendency that marks ideological developments in the bourgeois camp at this time. Also in the 1980's a further development is taking place in other ideological views extending even into conservative circles, the foreign policy strategy of which seeks peaceful means and methods for the confrontation between the systems. In view of the fact that the existence of mankind is threatened by the foreign policy course of the U.S. administration and in view of their positive experiences with the detente policy, these circles, assessing their chances in the struggle against socialism more realistically and reflecting the problems of war and peace with a greater sense of responsibility, seek a substantive deepening and an expansion of the influence of their position on mass consciousness and on bourgeois political thought.

In connection with shifting NATO headquarters, in case of an emergency, from the European continent to Great Britain, a conservative FRG journalist, Franz Alt, wrote: "Again we have seen that the United States will make important military decisions without even consulting with its allies. The offhand manner with which the Western superpower dealt with the FRG while building the neutron weapon, in the theory on limited nuclear war, and in shifting NATO headquarters, increases the suspicion that to some leading U.S. politicians we would be in an emergency something like a 'cast-off Cuba.'"¹⁸

Also in the bourgeois camp there is an increase of voices expressing the fear that the unpredictability of U.S. policy is growing. Worried, many ask where the United States is going to look for its next victims, in Lebanon, Nicaragua or Cuba and which militaristic adventures, out of hegemonistic or anticommunist motivation, Europe may have to expect. With respect to the influence of militant ideology on policy, Alt wrote: "Our moral arrogance toward communists blocks our realistic view at our own atomic sins."¹⁹ And he wrote: "We shall approach peace only if we do away with our moral arrogance."²⁰

Similarly, bourgeois ideologues and politicians of other persuasions--proceeding always from their class positions, of course--articulate more realistic views with respect to global nuclear war. This, e.g., was the answer given to the question about a nuclear holocaust by Ralf Dahrendorf, a theoretician of the FDP, a partner in the Bonn government coalition: "Nuclear weapons are like a cancer in humanity. There is no prescription for doing away with them. So it is imperative to avoid metastases and contain the sickness altogether, wherever possible. One would almost wish to add: at any cost. But then doubt arises also about the cost of liberty? We must achieve both: effectively defend our liberty and diminish the nuclear risk. What matters is whether our earth, through our genius, becomes a place for free people or a planet with grasses and insects."²¹

Much in that statement is arguable. For instance, that there presumably is no prescription for eliminating nuclear weapons (the USSR constantly having come forth with propositions that would point the way), or that allegedly there is a serious threat from the outside to what the capitalist society regards as liberty--say in the FRG. Nonetheless, people like Dahrendorf want to prevent nuclear war and contain the "sickness" to that end, which probably means contribute to the recovery of the international situation.

Indignation is caused by the frankly militaristic and extreme anticommunist and hegemonistic presumptions in ideology and practical foreign policy of the incumbent U.S. government even in imperialist circles that are greatly supportive of Reagan's confrontation strategy and had pushed for the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe--mainly as a means of political pressure against the socialist countries, to be sure, and not primarily as an instrument to be used militarily. For instance, the British chief of government, Margaret Thatcher, after the U.S. marines invaded Grenada, announced: "I am totally against communism and terrorism. But if one announces that the United States should have to intervene wherever communism rules against the will of the people, we are moving toward terrible wars all throughout the world."²² This profoundly anti-communist position still contains as a realistic element the desirable possibility not to let social and ideological opposition turn into military confrontation and maintain predictability in foreign policy.

The consequences of the militant U.S. ideology and policy thus even meet with doubt in their tenability and with rejection in conservative West European circles, including governments there. Their own economic and political interests, departing from those of the United States--and based on the given geostrategic location, economic interests, and their own intentions to expand power and influence--are essential points of departure for forming such diverse conceptions on strategic issues in the confrontation between the systems. As all these factors will continue to be effective, the search for foreign policy strategies that can be enforced and take account of one's own interests will go on.

Also the frank rejection and doubt by bourgeois circles of the U.S. confrontation strategy and commensurate political actions provide the evidence for that the antagonism between imperialist and socialist ideology must not needs be reflected in confrontational foreign policy that would include the danger of military conflict by means of nuclear weapons. Bourgeois ideology, itself differentiated due to diverse economic and political and, in part, divergent national interests by the bourgeoisie, along with militant conceptions on the confrontation with socialism, also always supplies more moderate ones which reflect the correlation of power in the world more realistically. This provides evidence for the realization by Engels, quoted in the beginning, that in many cases ideology principally determines the form of the political struggle. With reference to the shaping of international relations between states with differing social orders, the question about the form of it warrants the highest conceivable place value today, due to the employability of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons. Whether the class struggle in the international arena is conducted by means of confrontation including the possibility of nuclear war or by excluding military means in the final analysis determines the survival of mankind as such.

Since that is no alternative, the conviction is growing stronger in the world--mainly under the influence of the ideology and policy of real socialism--that the struggle between ideas and social systems is feasible only if war is precluded. Quarreling about the value or worthlessness of ideology and about what liberty, democracy, human dignity and so forth should amount to requires for its prerequisite that mankind survives. It is absurd to propagate nuclear war on behalf of "human dignity." Conducting global nuclear war in pursuit of an ideologically draped messianism is madness.

Because this view is shared by the overwhelming majority of the peoples, even by representatives of the ruling class in imperialist states, the struggle by all peace forces against transforming militant ideology into imperialist foreign policy certainly has prospects of success. Using them means promoting the union of all who oppose the U.S. and NATO nuclear strategy and thereby making the peace front still broader and stronger.

FOOTNOTES

1. Engels to Joseph Bloch, 21 September 1890, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works) (MEW), Vol 37, Berlin, 1967, p 463.
2. Ibid., p 464.
3. Engels to W. Borgius, 25 January 1894, MEW, Vol 39, Berlin, 1968, p 206.
4. Engels to Franz Mehring, 14 July 1893, MEW, Vol 39, p 98; cf. also Marx to Pavel Vasilyevich Annenkov, 28 December 1846, MEW, Vol 27, Berlin, 1963, p 451; Engels to Conrad Schmidt, 27 October 1890, MEW, Vol 37, pp 488 f.
5. Engels to Joseph Bloch, 10, cit.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Ninth CPR(B) Congress, 27 March-2 April 1922," "Werke," Vol 33, Berlin, 1962, p 251.
7. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 4 May 1983.

8. V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism. Preface to the French and German edition," "Werke," Vol 22, Berlin, 1960, p 194.
9. Cf. also B. Koch, "On the Role of Ideology in the Forming and Enforcing of the U.S. Confrontation Course," IPW BERICHTe, No 11, 1983, pp 7 ff.
10. DER SPIEGEL, Hamburg, No 4, 1981.
11. A. Haig, "America's Might and Goal--Speech before the American Chamber of Commerce, 27 April 1982," USIS, ed., AMERIKA-DIENST, Bonn, 28 April 1982.
12. R. Reagan, "Commencement Speech, the West Point Military Academy, 27 May 1981," AMERIKA-DIENST, 28 May 1981.
13. R. Reagan, "North Carolina Speech, 4 November 1983," quoted from DIE WELT, Bonn, 7 November 1983.
14. Reagan Press Conference, 16 June 1981, quoted from USIS, ed., WIRELESS BULLETIN FROM WASHINGTON, Bonn, 17 June 1981.
15. C. Weinberger, "Speech before the Senate Armed Services Committee," WIRELESS BULLETIN . . . , 5 March 1981.
16. W. Kluxen, "Force and the Use of Force--Philosophic Comments on a Topical Theme," DIE POLITISCHE MEINUNG, Bonn, No 109, 1983, p 50.
17. Ibid.
18. F. Alt, "Frieden is moeglich" (Peace Is Possible), Munich-Zurich, 1983, p 44.
19. Ibid., p 65.
20. Ibid., p 68.
21. "For a Liberalism of the Future," LIBERAL, Bonn, No 1, 1983, p 5.
22. Quoted from FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 1 November 1983.

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COMINTERN'S PRE-WORLD WAR II PEACE EFFORTS OUTLINED

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[Article by Prof Horst Schumacher, department head at the Institute for Marxism-Leninism of the SED Central Committee: "The Comintern's Struggle for Peace and Socialism"]

[Text] On V. I. Lenin's initiative, the Third Communist International constituted itself in Moscow 65 years ago, on 4 March 1919. It introduced imperishable achievements to the treasure of Marxism-Leninism and to the process that would turn the communist and workers movement into the strongest and most influential political movement in our era. It decisively contributed to the genesis and all-round strengthening of communist parties on all continents. It brought together the victorious workers class in the first socialist country, the workers movement in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement that was then taking shape. It provided the communists with sound scientific strategy and tactics in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, the basic ideas of which are effective today. For the more than two and a half decades it existed, the Comintern led all important international working class fighting operations.¹ A central spot in it was reserved for the struggle against war and for peace.

Continuation of Proletarian Anti-War Traditions.

With the founding of the Comintern, there formed the leftist forces in the international workers movement which, faithful to the resolutions of the Second International, had fought for the revolutionary termination of the imperialist world war. Those also were the forces which in firmness and solidarity stood by the side of the young Soviet power, by the socialist state, which had entered the international arena with its peace decree in 1917 that for the first time in history elevated peace policy into state doctrine. Among these internationalist forces also was the KPD, founded a few weeks before.

The Comintern picked up the revolutionary legacy of the international workers movement and enriched it by the realization that--as its constituent congress put it--a new era, the era of humanity's transition from capitalism to socialism, had begun with the Great Socialist October Revolution in Russia in 1917. That also developed entirely new terms and chances in the struggle for peace, presenting the workers class and its parties with new tasks.

The communist parties may take credit for always having headed the peoples' struggle against imperialism, fascism and war. That is attested to by such campaigns as "Hands Off Soviet Russia," the mass movements against the imperialist interventions and colonial wars in Morocco, Nicaragua and other countries in the 1920's and in China in the 1920's and 1930's, the assistance for the Ethiopians' liberation struggle in 1935/36 or for the Spanish people, attacked by international fascism, between 1936 and 1939, the resolute struggle for establishing a broad global peace front in the mid-1930's, the operations against the criminal occupation of Austria in 1938 and of Czechoslovakia in 1938/39 by Hitler Germany, the heroic resistance struggle in the countries subjugated by fascism and, finally, the relentless support given the Soviet Union after being attacked in 1941 by Hitler Germany.

The communists were the ones who not only used the horrors of the imperialist war and the countless imperialist atrocities as an occasion to pillory war as a scourge of humanity but who also were able to reveal the secret of what makes wars break out--as Lenin had demanded--in relying on their Marxist-Leninist insights. They used all their strength to mobilize the masses for active struggle against war and, ultimately, for eradicating its imperialist roots. For the Comintern the struggle against war, resolving the issue of war or peace, was inseparable from the conflict between war-bearing imperialism, still dominating five sixth of the globe at the time the Comintern was active, and socialism, which had entered history as a reality in 1917 and paved the way to permanent peace for mankind.

The Socialist Soviet Union--Bastion of Peace

In its struggle against imperialism, fascism and war, the Comintern proceeded from the realization that the workers class was the major force in this struggle and had the task to banish war forever from the life of the peoples while it struggled to implement its historic mission. It taught the workers class that mankind's yearning for peace would receive realistic foundations to the extent that socialism were to become real and were to develop. Its consistent dedication in the peace struggle thus was linked with an unconditional allegiance to the first socialist country, the country of the victorious workers class, where the unity of socialism and peace became a reality.

The distinction of the Comintern and of the parties that had joined it was that among millions of peoples all over the world the realization was reinforced that through the Soviet Union, the working class struggle for peace had for the first time in history found a firm state basis and, hence, real preconditions for success, relying on the economic, political and military might of socialism. It documented in various forms that the unity of socialism and peace ever more visibly and effectively came to the fore through the peaceful work of construction in the first socialist country and the concrete peace and disarmament steps taken by its government. For all that the Comintern--and this belongs in the lasting treasure of insights in the ideological conflict over the issue of war or peace--attributed a crucial spot as a peace-preserving factor to the armed forces of socialism and, in a concrete case, to those of the Soviet Union. "In fact we have for the first time a situation in world history, since there has been a Red Army, where large armed forces are placed at the service of the cause of peace," Togliatti remarked at the Seventh Comintern Congress (25 July to

21 August 1935 in Moscow). "The international proletariat knows and understands that mankind would long have been plunged into the abyss of war if there were no Red Army."²

The defense of the Soviet Union and, hence, of the bastion of peace against all imperialist conspiracies, the solidary backing of the Soviet people's efforts in socialist construction, and the support given Soviet foreign policy were inseparable from the Comintern's peace struggle. Resolutely the communist parties turned down the offers from anticommunist and anti-Soviet forces to attest to them political self-determination, national independence and even an alliance capability to the extent that they would depart from internationalist standpoints and go into opposition to CPSU and USSR policy. The conformity, under class determinants, between the communist movement and the Soviet Union in the struggle for preserving and safeguarding peace did not weaken the peace forces in the world--although that was claimed to be so by people who wanted to interpret the Comintern as an "extension of Soviet foreign policy"--but consolidated them greatly.

Most decidedly the Comintern turned against the anticommunist and anti-Soviet allegations already refuted by V. I. Lenin, that the Soviet Union and the communists were seeking war to "whip up" the socialist revolution or export it into other countries. At the Seventh Congress, the CPSU(B) reporter D. Z. Manuilsky affirmed that "the role of the Soviet Union as a bulwark of peace among the peoples" was growing. "The Soviet Union needs no wars to transform the world. That the peoples themselves will do in rising against their oppressors. The Soviet Union needs no wars because in the contest between the two world systems the socialist system is winning victories daily and demonstrates its superiority over the capitalist system to the whole world. If the world bourgeoisie were to leave our country alone for a decade, the Soviet Union would convince enormous masses of people on the globe of the advantages of its system by means of its socialist accomplishments. But," he added, "the capitalist world does not want the socialist system to develop peacefully."³

Togliatti who also came to grips with the opponent's thesis that "the communists favored war, placed their hopes in war, allegedly believed that only a war could create a situation that would make the struggle for revolution and for the seizure of power possible."⁴ That lie had been most strikingly unmasked by that the Comintern had made the peace struggle the centerpiece of its activity. And V. G. Knorin, a CPSU(B) delegate, made this point: "If peace is preserved, the international power ratio in the class struggle will shift daily more in favor of the proletariat, at the expense of capitalism."⁵

Convincingly the communists proved that peace was the fundamental condition for the social progress of humanity and for the socialist transformation of the world. Not only did it provide the most favorable external conditions for socialism, it also gave the workers class and all working people in the capitalist countries the opportunity to enforce their political and socioeconomic demands through a united and peoples' front. It also strengthened the national liberation movement in the colonies and semicolonies.

The evidence the Seventh Congress provided was that only imperialism was interested in war which eventually--even if started as a war among imperialist states--would turn against the Soviet Union. True to Lenin's demand to reveal the secret of why wars broke out, the Comintern emphatically instructed the international workers class that in the given historic situation the chief danger to peace emanated from fascist German imperialism and its plans for world domination. That increasingly fused the struggle against fascism with the peace effort.

The international constellation of powers in the mid-1930's--as the Seventh Comintern Congress emphasized--was significantly altered by the triumph of socialism in the USSR. The new opportunities in the peace struggle in which despite profound ideological contrasts a growing conformity began to show up among communists, Social Democrats, Christians and various pacifistic currents, and the increasing differentiation among the imperialist powers, induced Togliatti in his concluding speech at the Seventh Congress to say one could "not only postpone the war but, under certain conditions, even prevent the outbreak of another imperialist war."⁶ Georgi Dimitrov and other speakers explained that the impending war could be avoided if socialism were to gain further strength in the Soviet Union and all those who did not want war were to make common cause. Those were "not only the countless masses of millions of urban and rural working people," as D. Z. Manuilsky asserted, "not only the classes, and their parties and organizations, within the various countries, but the nations, ethnic groups and states whose independence is threatened by war. There are even bourgeois governments of big imperialist powers that are not interested in war right now. Whatever their motives may be, they are of minor importance today."⁷

For the first time the communist movement came up with the thesis that under certain conditions war could be prevented even while the capitalist social order still existed. Connected with that, the realization was strengthened in the Comintern that the peace struggle was of a general democratic nature and broader in social and political bases than the proletariat's class struggle on behalf of socialism. It helped asking the question about an alliance in the struggle against fascism and war in a new way.

For a Global Peace Front

In the struggle against the fascist war arsonists, the Seventh Comintern Congress focused on collaboration among all peace-loving forces. To strengthen the worldwide peace front, it made a unity of action between communists and Social Democrats and the creating of broad alliance relations with other democratic forces, including the pacifists, the centerpiece of its efforts. In this it proceeded from the great antifascist and antiwar potentials in those movements and from the fact that in the peace struggle there was more to unite than divide the two political currents in the international workers movement and other peace-loving forces. There were numerous offers the Comintern made in those decisive years to the Socialist Workers International proposing common operations against increasing fascist acts of aggression. Although many Social Democrats, up to the top level of the Socialist Workers International, urged joining the communists in the struggle against fascism and war, and in many places it became possible to set up a united front between communists and

Social Democrats, right-wing Social Democratic leaders yet prevented joint anti-war actions by both Internationals. So the workers class remained split even in the peace struggle.

To broaden the front of active struggle against fascism and war, the Comintern endorsed the initiatives of the World Peace Association that had been founded in Brussels in September 1936. Its constituent congress had been attended by more than 4,500 delegates from 35 countries, including communists, Social Democrats, unionists, Christians, representatives of pacifist organizations and even conservative forces. The Comintern actively supported the four principles the congress had adopted as a minimum of what should have to be done against war: the inviolability of international treaties, arms limitation, collective security and strengthening the League of Nations. However, the communists also pointed out that in view of the directly threatening danger of world war it could not be enough to appeal to the will for peace by capitalist governments and to the League of Nations, but that one required above all broad international mass operations to lend emphasis to the demands by the peace movement and effectively oppose all the schemes by imperialist powers that were placing world peace in jeopardy. In developing such activities the Comintern continued to take the lead. That became especially clear when in the mid-1930's Hitler Germany, Italy and Japan moved ever closer to open warlike actions such as demonstrated by their intervention in Spain and their aggression against Ethiopia, China, Austria and Czechoslovakia. "That the peoples' struggle for preserving peace is organized in good time and conducted daily and everywhere against the fascist warmongers and their henchmen is all that matters," Georgi Dimitrov declared in May 1936. "A peace front is needed covering all continents, from Tokyo to London, from New York to Berlin, which stands up unanimously against war arsonists, against German fascism in Europe, against the Japanese military circles in the Far East."⁸

At the same time it became evident that the policy of the other imperialist states was aimed, not at leashing the fascist war arsonists, but at "appeasing" them by concessions. The Comintern unmasked that policy which reached its culmination in the 1938 Munich Agreement among Germany, Italy, France and Great Britain. It pointed out emphatically that such a policy of "appeasing the aggressor" would not lead to peace, as pacifist forces and Social Democrats would wish to interpret it, but was bound to lead to deceiving the masses and to war.

Despite the enormous efforts by the Soviet Union, the communist parties and many peace forces all over the world, fascist German imperialism could not be prevented from unleashing another world war under the prevailing conditions then. Yet the Comintern's struggle against fascism and war was not in vain. It remains a glorious chapter in the working class antiwar struggle. The orientations basic to that struggle and the insights it contains enriched the communist world movement's store of experiences. This proved itself, in the struggle by the Soviet Union and the peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition allied with it, the basis for developing a broad international mass movement for crushing fascism; and it has its effects today, when under altered and historically new conditions the real possibility must take effect where through the joint struggle of all peace-loving forces the danger of a nuclear world conflagration is avoided as it emanates from the most aggressive imperialist circles, especially those of the United States.

FOOTNOTES

1. For the historic accomplishments of the Comintern, cf. Horst Schumacher, "The Comintern--Trailblazer for the Triumphant March of Socialism," EINHEIT, No 3, 1979, pp 300 ff.
2. Palmiro Togliatti, "The Preparation for Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Comintern," "VII. Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975 pp 209, 212.
3. D. Z. Manuilsky, "The Triumph of Socialism in the Soviet Union and Its World Historic Importance," *ibid.*, p 292.
4. Palmiro Togliatti, *op. cit.*, p 205.
5. DEUTSCHE ZENTRAL-ZEITUNG, Moscow, 21 August 1935.
6. RUNDSCHAU UEBER POLITIK, WIRTSCHAFT UND ARBEITERBEWEGUNG, Basel, 18 December 1935, p 2858.
7. D. Z. Manuilsky, *op. cit.*, p 293.
8. Georgi Dimitrov, "The United Front in the Peace Struggle," "Ausgewaehlte Werke" (Selected Works), Vol 2, Sofia-Press, Sofia, 1976, pp 149-150.

5885

CSO: 2300/372

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

RESTRICTION ON TRAVELERS' FILMS--Whoever takes a trip to the GDR and wants to show friends or acquaintances their movies or slides can take the appropriate projection apparatus and films, which may not, however, have a sound track, as well as slides, both into and out of the country, "if their content and importation is not inconsistent with the interests of the socialist state and of its citizens." The film and slides must be carried in hand luggage. [Excerpt] [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Apr 84 p R-5]

CSO: 2300/402

RESULTS OF OPOLE PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Account of Proceedings

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 24 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszard Augustyn, Lina Szejner, Bernard Walenski, and Tadeusz Wyspianski: "The Place for Party Members Is Where Things Are Most difficult; The Provincial PZPR Reports-Elections Conference Took Place With the Participation of Zbigniew Michalek, Secretary, PZPR Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Opole, comes from peasant stock. He was born in 1934 in Stara Wies in the Lubelski area. By profession he is a teacher. He graduated from the Higher Pedagogical School and the Institute of Social Pedagogy. He also completed postgraduate studies in political science in the Central Party School. During 1949-56, he was an activist in the Polish Youth Union. He joined the party in April 1961. In 1953, he began his professional career as a teacher in the preventorium in Paczkowo, then continued as director here until 1966. At present he is the first secretary of the city committee in Paczkowo. In 1967 he began work in the party apparatus. During 1968-75, he was secretary of the district committee in Nysa, and after the administrative reform, he was secretary of the PZPR city-gmina committee in Nysa. At the same time, he was chairman of the city-gmina people's council in Nysa. In 1975 he was elected to the PZPR provincial committee. In March 1977, he became director of the organizational department of the PZPR provincial committee. Also, since 1977 he has been a member of the executive board and secretariat of the provincial committee. Since June 1981, he has held the post of first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee. At the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress he was elected to the Central Committee.

For his achievements in professional, party, and social work he was awarded the Gold Service Cross and the Cavalier Cross of the Order of Polish Rebirth. He holds the J. Krasicki silver medal for activity in the youth movement. He has been honored with the Opole regional medal of merit. He is married and has two children.

* * *

The Provincial PZPR Reports-Elections Conference opened with the "Internationale" yesterday in the Opole Guards Hall. This conference, the most important

event in the internal life of the Opole provincial party organization, crowned a 2-and-1/2-year term initiated in June 1981. Party activity and the work of the provincial committee and the provincial commission for audit and party control was evaluated by 321 delegates. Directions were indicated for further activity that will be carried out by the new party authorities and control organs elected yesterday.

The conference was opened by the first secretary of the provincial committee, Eugeniusz Mroz, who said, "The period that is coming to an end was one of the most difficult in the history of our party. Every month, every day, the whole party, every one of its members, all of us who are gathered here were taking a party and citizen examination. We were battling with both a political opponent and our own weaknesses. In arduous, daily work we battled to regain people's confidence in the party and its program. Today, with satisfaction we find a slow but decided renewal of the party. Today's conference is taking place in the jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic. Celebration of this anniversary should be a period of widespread and serious discussion of the road our country has traveled. In this jubilee year of the Polish People's Republic and the 35th anniversary of the uniting of the Polish workers movement, the whole country expresses respect and recognition for veterans of battle and work to generations of fighters for people's rule, to the builders of the Polish People's Republic. I am conveying these words of recognition and respect to the representatives of the Opole veterans of the workers' movement, participants of the unification congress, Comrades Leon Brudzinski, Leon Brumberger, Feliks Hajduczek, Stanislaw Pawlak, Franciszek Sielanczuk, Stefan Marek, Franciszek Gumnior, and Czeslaw Golab, present here with us today."

E. Mroz also greeted members of the party Central Committee participating in the conference together with the secretary of the Central Committee, Zbigniew Michalek; members of the PZPR Central Audit Commission with Tadeusz Ferec, a member of its presidium; members of the Central Party Control Commission with a member of the presidium of that commission, Alojzy Gorzawski; Jozef Niewinski, chairman of the ZSL provincial committee; Stanislaw Suchodolski, chairman of the SD provincial committee; Mieczyslaw Rzepiela, chairman of the provincial people's council; Maria Nowakowska, chairman of the provincial council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]; and Kazimierz Dzierzan, governor of Opole Province. General Wlodzimierz Oliwa, minister of administration and land use management, also participated in the conference. Places in the conference presidium were occupied by members of the retiring executive board of the PZPR provincial committee; Tadeusz Gwozdziejewski chaired the meeting. After the agenda and rules of procedure were adopted by the delegates, and the commission for mandates, resolutions and motions was selected, Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the provincial committee, read a paper to open the discussion. (A summary of the paper appears on p 3.) On the motion of Boleslaw Malinowski, the Paczkow delegate, with 11 opposed and 6 abstaining, the discussion was terminated, and delegates who had not had an opportunity to address the meeting were asked to submit their speeches for the conference record. In the next session of discussions, presided over by Jozef Stankiewicz from Prudnik, a speech was delivered by Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the retiring executive board of the provincial committee (a discussion of his speech will be published in tomorrow's edition).

During intermissions in the discussion, new provincial party officers were elected. Their first act was the election of the first secretary of the provincial committee. In the name of the election committee, Jozef Piechota, the chairman, nominated Eugeniusz Mroz. This was seconded by Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the Central Committee, who cited the recommendation of the Politburo of the Central Committee favoring E. Mroz to serve once again as first secretary. Since no other candidates were nominated, secret voting followed. Eugeniusz Mroz received 301 of 321 valid votes and once again assumed the direction of the Opole Province party organization. Election of the remaining 99 members of the provincial committee (of 109 candidates) followed. Of 29 candidates, 25 alternate members of the provincial committee were elected, 41 members of the provincial party control commission (of 42 candidates), and 41 members of the provincial audit commission (of 44 candidates). A complete list of new officers and provincial control organs of the party will be published in the Wednesday and Thursday issues of TRYBUNA OPOLSKA.

In plenary sessions there was a longer intermission for the first plenary meeting of the new provincial committee, the provincial party control commission and the provincial party audit commission at which, as a result of secret elections, the executive board and secretariat of the provincial committee and the presidia of both commissions were elected (complete lists are published on p 2). Jozef Strzelecki was reelected chairman of the provincial audit commission, and Tadeusz Gwozdziewski was reelected chairman of the provincial party control commission.

When the plenary session resumed, the conference adopted a resolution outlining the directions of actions of the provincial party organization during the next term (the complete text will be published in tomorrow's edition), a program of action of the provincial committee, and a resolution in the matter of peace-keeping (text to be published tomorrow), as well as a text of greetings for the comrades from districts friendly to the Opole district: the Belgorod district in the USSR and the Potsdam district in East Germany (see p 1 of this edition).

In conclusion, Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the provincial committee, spoke. He thanked everyone for the confidence they placed in him and congratulated the new provincial officers and party control organs on their election. At the same time, he stated that he is fully aware of the difficult work that awaits the party in the Opole district in the immediate future. The effects of this work, he said, depend on how everyone will use the time before the 10th Party Congress.

The conference concluded with the "Internationale."

New Executive Board, Secretaries

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 24 Jan 84 p 2

[Article: "Members of the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board, Provincial Committee Secretaries"]

[Text] Executive Board Members:

Konstanty Chmielewski, director of Nitrogen Plants, Kedzierzyna-Kozla, higher education, age 53;

Kazimierz Dzierzan, Opole governor, higher education, age 48;

Stanislaw Dzugaj, director of the sales department of Otmec SZPS, Krapkowice, secondary education, age 45;

Jozef Filip, implement welder, Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops, Opole, secondary education, age 27;

Czeslaw Kaczmarek, first secretary, PZPR plant committee in the Malapanew Steel-works, Ozimka, higher education, age 36;

Wlodzimierz Kosinski, editor-in-chief, TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, higher education, age 49;

Tadeusz Kulejewski, deputy chief of the provincial office of internal affairs in Opole, higher education, age 46;

Jan Lupa, private farmer from Olszynki in Lubrza Gmina, secondary education, age 34;

Norbert Lysek, director of Slask Limestone Plants, Tarnowo Opolskie, higher education, age 44;

Jan Magdziarczyk, chairman of the provincial board Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives in Opole, higher education, age 42;

Janusz Michalczyk, first secretary, PZPR city-gmina committee in Nysa, higher education, age 34;

Artur Pusz, foreman in the Frotex Wool Plants in Prudnik, secondary education, age 44;

Stanislaw Sojka, primer painter, Agromet Agricultural Machinery Factory, Brzeg, elementary education, age 52;

Roman Troszczynski, first secretary of the PZPR city committee in Opole, higher education, age 45.

Provincial Committee Secretaries:

Eugeniusz Brudkiewicz, former director of the political-organizational department of the PZPR provincial committee, higher pedagogical education, age 46;

Zdzislaw Niedzielski, former secretary of the PZPR provincial committee, higher education in economics, age 44;

Kazimierz Suchecki, chairman of the provincial planning commission, provincial office in Opole, higher education, age 43;

Andrzej Walczak, former secretary of the PZPR provincial committee, higher education, age 34.

First Secretary's Speech

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 24 Jan 84 p 3

[Abbreviated version of a paper of the executive board of the PZPR provincial committee, read by Eugeniusz Mroz, first secretary of the provincial committee at the Provincial Reports-Elections Conference: "We Have Created Conditions for Strengthening the Leading Role of the Party in Society"]

[Text] In my opening remarks I would like to discuss the problems most vital for our party organization, and to point up the complexes of affairs and phenomena which we confronted in our work. I am also concerned that we should always, especially at such times as today, direct that which should mark every member of our party: self-criticism with respect to our own achievements and a creative concern for meeting the ideological and social goals of the party in the immediate future.

952 Difficult Days

As we all remember, we began our last term in a very tense political atmosphere. On the one hand the atmosphere was set by the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and the line of battle and agreements adopted at that congress, and on the other hand, the activities of our political opponent opposed to this program of our party. The half-truths, demagoguery, and lies that our opponent used ruined the socialist consciousness of wide circles of society. Today we know for certain from whose ideological inspirations and in what kind of entanglements with foreign sources of antisocialist subversion our political opponents dealt. We also know on what kind of economic, sociological and psychological base they played their precise, calculated and harmful game, even if they did not always realize what they were doing. For such is the truth that today, on the occasion of our conference, it should be repeated once more that the workers' protest of August 1980 and the need that arose at that time for the creation of self-governing trade unions were not antisocialist in either their origin or their nature, that their erstwhile slogan, which corresponded to the feelings and will of the workers, was true: "Socialism, yes! Deviation, no!"; and that turning this slogan into social anarchy, provocative strikes and antisocialist demonstrations destroys, with premeditation, the spirit and letter of the social agreements entered into in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzeb, and indicts the extremist leaders of the later Solidarity and those who consulted behind their backs with anticommunist, illegal organizations, KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland]. It indicts them with the most grievous accusation--the accusation of betraying the real interests and goals of the working class.

Our preceding provincial reports-elections conference convened in June 1981 in just such an atmosphere: on the one hand, in a party ideological battle and mobilization of party organization forces, and on the other, in an atmosphere of the formation of new conditions and finding ways of escaping from the chaos.

Its course was affected to no small degree by emotions, hasty judgments and strong accusations, which the delegates directed to the retiring provincial committee for its passive, slow action after August 1980. That this weakness of action and disorientation under pressure of provocation by the opponent prevailed at that time throughout the party could not be an extenuating circumstance. The conviction was very widespread that the political situation, a qualitatively different, very complicated state of social consciousness, overwhelmed the capacities, experience and psychic resilience of many of our activists and organizers in party, social, and economic life at that time, who were really self-sacrificing and meritorious.

As a result of this situation in the course of the reports-elections campaign, 50 percent of the first secretaries at the highest levels were replaced, as were 80 percent of the secretaries of plant committees, and more than 60 percent of the secretaries of basic party organizations. Many changes were also made in centers of state and economic administration. This was a radical renewal of the elective party authorities. This renewal was an expression of the universal expectation of guarantees that the democratically elected new echelons would not repeat the old mistakes for which the party paid so dearly. Although this was a quite elementary searching for a way to rebuild the credibility of the party, since very frequently there was more concentration on the elections procedure itself than on developing concrete and realistic programs that would aid in overcoming the economic and political crisis, nevertheless this period of party activity was accompanied by a quite universal and growing consciousness that together with the process of democratization of intraparty life, the key problem was the strengthening of party ranks and the unity of the party.

This need to strengthen party rank unity was emphasized strongly by the resolution of the June reports-elections conference. This resolution expressed the conviction that without this unity we would not be in a state to carry out our initiating and directing role in reforming political and economic life, and at the same time, we would not be able to resist the forces of anti-socialism that were acting more and more openly.

The Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, to which Opole delegates of the party organization contributed significantly, built its program on party unity. In uniting forces, the party saw a guarantee not only of its own renewal, but of the renewal of the whole country, a reform of the economy, an overcoming of the crisis and elimination of its causes in the future as well.

We know the response of the antisocialist political opposition to this constructive program that was open to all Poles; they could have made no other. We know what the response of the opposition was to the idea of national agreement that was next proposed by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski. Today we cannot and we do not want to underestimate, and even less do we want to remain silent about the truth that even in our region there were centers in which permanent strike alerts were proclaimed. In our educational institutions and schools, youth were also involved in frantic confrontational activities, and in the streets and homes of Opole towns, and even in the villages, poster-propaganda holidays were organized more than once. The idea of national agreement met also with an unequivocally inimical, negative stand. On the other hand, we

must also tell ourselves today, clearly and self-critically, that in our provincial party organization we were not then fully conscious of the dimensions of the threat. This became apparent also in the fact that we did not show the indispensable united front and discipline of action. Many party members, many echelons and basic party organizations maintained a passive posture in the face of a situation that was growing worse day by day. For those most concerned with the future of the country, for everyone who respected the iron laws of the logic of political life, it was becoming clear that this impish dance of impossibility, this avalanche of national self-extermination, could be broken only by the deepest social shock. We are afraid of this decision, we lived through this shock during the night of 12-13 December 1981. The introduction of martial law was a dramatic decision, but it was the only responsible decision capable of stopping the ultimate destabilization of our country and all the possible consequences that might result from this. This became a deep caesura, a break, in the activity of our party, and it opened a new stage in this activity. It created conditions and the need for new civic activity, particularly a new mobilization of party members. The citizens' committees for national salvation [OKON] and the centers of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth became the inspiration and confirmation of this activity and mobilization. These new ideas of social action inspired thousands of residents of Opole and hundreds of the most active members of the Opole party organization.

The shock of martial law also affected the further self-purification of our party of people who were haphazard and weak. Like the whole party, the Opole organization also passed through this natural, although accelerated and dramatically deep, verification. During the past term, the numbers in our organization dropped from 83,160 members to 63,642 as of 31 December 1983. These are hard losses for the group of party workers. Their contingent dropped from 37,237 to 26,920 members. We know that many of them today regret the step they took, and for them the statutory road for returning to the party will be open in the future.

Also the number of farmers decreased by one-fifth. The number of young people and women in the party dropped significantly. Despite the fact that the increase in the number of party members is insignificant at present, and does not promise to make up for the decrease, we must note that the trend toward shrinkage of the party has been stopped, and we note that there is a definite increase in new members, even if it is slight. While in 1981 we accepted only 33 candidates, in 1982 there were 156, and in 1983, 393. Let us add also that the decision to join the party today is made with a baggage of fresh experiences and reflections over the last 3 years, and this undoubtedly speaks of the deep consideration given this step and the ideological consciousness and readiness for political activity of the candidates that apply for party membership. Therefore, we receive their applications with particular joy and share their hope for further rebirth of our party. These first symptoms of the rebirth of a new trust in the party, which fill us with a certain hope, obviously cannot equal our concern that as many as nine basic party echelons did not admit even one candidate to the party. Not all party echelons, plant committees, or party activists remember the responsibility of gaining for party policies and for party ranks people representing high ideopolitical and moral qualities, as formulated in the statutes of our party. I think that it

is time now that we should not only become cognizant of this task again, but that it should become in the coming term the object of continuous effort on the part of the party activists.

An undesirable result is the increased average age of members and candidates in the Opole party organization. This state fills us all the more with concern since among those newly admitted to the party, the percentage of people below 30 years of age is still low. A separate and unusually urgent subject and task, on which depend both the organizational development of our party and its capacity to affect society, is the social position of the party activists. The matter of increasing the number of party activists, especially among the workers, is an urgent one, particularly in the context of the goals that the party is attaining and will attain, so that fulfillment of its leading role in the community might continue to improve.

Our Weapons Are Ideological

In our activities we concentrated on two sets of problems. The first pertains to the ideological and organizational sphere of strengthening the party, which has been and is the condition for increasing the effectiveness of political battle and the ideoeducational effect on society.

At the same time, the second set of problems encompasses the economic sphere, and therefore the realization of the program adopted by the Ninth Congress of reestablishing economic stability, introducing economic reform, and overcoming the crisis. The result of this should be a gradual improvement of living conditions for all of society.

These two spheres of activity, one pertaining to the sphere of consciousness and the other to the material base, in keeping with a Leninist understanding of the unity of ideology, politics and economics, are always closely related and always determine the main directions and methods of our activity.

As is known, declaring martial law did not extinguish all political tensions. Activists of various antisocial groups still cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that they lost; they agitate and will continue to agitate, taking advantage of our every weakness, our every mistake or slowing of the tempo of our offensive in realizing the program of the Ninth Congress. They are irritated by our daily, peaceful producing of ever new facts attesting that, although slowly and step by step, we are still making our way to the forefront in every sphere of social and economic life.

Under qualitatively new social conditions, when we still have to battle for a long time with opponents of socialism and to mobilize all strength to gain the hearts and minds of the whole of society for our cause, the significance of ideological and social work assumes exceptional importance in the party. In past years, the position and role of Marxist-Leninist thought in the intellectual life of the country and in processes of forming social consciousness has clearly become weakened. The reasons for this state of affairs are well known. It is the product equally of our own mistakes and of the attacks of our political opponent. The result was such that we yielded no little ground in ideological life. Nonsocialist ideologies of different varieties occupied

this ground. Now we must regain that which we lost and we must take the offensive.

In daily activity of our party organizations, we must realize the principle that every party member must be an agitator, each of us has the obligation to have at least a minimum of ideological knowledge and primarily to apply this knowledge every day. We are adapting various forms of so-called ideological rearmemnt of our party activists. But there is still too little of all of these activities.

Rearming party members with Marxist-Leninist knowledge and with actual ideopolitical argumentation must make the action of the party on society and on its centers and groups more effective. Another measure of the effectiveness of our battle with the opponent is our ability to convince those who are not political opponents, yet we cannot persuade them to our way of thinking. The battle for people's views and positions continues and will continue; these do not change of themselves, but must be actively formed, and we must win this battle.

The principal motive of the ideological work of the party in the next few months must be to propagandize the achievements of the 40 years of the Polish People's Republic. The enemy attempted to convince society, especially youth, that the postwar fate of the country was only one strand of the disasters. This is a lie. In spite of many lapses and mistakes, our country, owing to its setting out on the socialist road of development, achieved enormous progress in every area. Our region is an example of this progress and transformations. Our history of 40 years of people's power in the Opole region of Silesia is the work and achievement of the hands and minds first of all of the working class, workers, regardless of political divisions. Priceless contributions to this achievement were made by Roman Nowak and Pawel Wojas, the long-time first secretaries of the PZPR provincial committee in Opole; Ryszard Hajduk, a well-known columnist and social activist; Karol Musiol, long-time chairman of the city people's council in Opole, initiator and organizer of the festival of Polish song in Opole; Professor Jozef Kobot, eminent scholar, who through his research enriched in a real way the historic argumentation of Poland that is indispensable in the ideological struggle with the territorial revisionism of the Federal Republic of Germany; Jozef Gruszka, meritorious activist in education and the party; and many others whom I cannot name here for obvious reasons.

The battle array for the 40th anniversary has enormous significance in light of the nearing elections to people's councils, in the course of which the opponent will want, if not to negate, then at least to minimize the achievement of the party and to discredit the political sense of the elections. We must, therefore, gather our strength, organize activity, unite our allies, and awaken people to their true interests.

First of all, however, we must intensify political-educational work with party members, with the party and socioeconomic activists. The final results of the elections to people's councils will depend on the efficiency of activities of echelons and on the positions, activity and political maturity of party members. The elections will have a major significance for the development of

the sociopolitical situation in our country. For our party, the election will be a test of its maturity. We must do everything to insure that our party together with the signers of the PRON declarations should come out of the elections victorious and strengthened. Only in this way will we confirm the social mandate to lead the nation.

In the Spirit of Partnership and Party Dialogue

In ideo-educational work with youth, in developing their patriotic and internationalist attitudes, respect for work, conviction of the effectiveness of socialist ideas, development of class consciousness, and the truth about historical facts, we must exploit the rich experiences of the older generation more widely, primarily the experiences of people who fought for a socialistic Poland: veterans of battle and work, activists of veteran organizations. Our party obligation is to educate the younger generation in respect for those people and for everything that they did for Poland. It is true that the beginning is difficult for young people today, but it is incomparably easier than the beginning for past generations. This truth also demands wider recognition.

Youth organizations have a special role in the social, professional and political activation of the younger generation. On the basis of partnership, we move to including them in solving the vital problems of youth coupled mainly with housing, culture, sport and recreation.

School, which until recently was the battle arena of sharp political struggle, plays a special role in the battle for attitudes and consciousness of youth. Keeping in mind the experiences of recent times, we must ensure a full realization of the principle that the teacher in a socialist society has the duty to educate and form youth in the spirit of socialistic ideals. Our ideological partnership with the younger generation, a partnership dictated by concern for the socialist education of youth, demands that we learn this new language of party dialogue and party argumentation. In this case, it must be a language expressing our basic knowledge of this younger generation and of this world in which the younger generation is growing up. We must speak to the young in a language that is concrete and factual. It must be a language in which we are able to answer those questions and those problems for which school does not always have an answer, although it should.

Included in the priorities in educational tasks, not only with youth, is an array of problems connected with Polish-Soviet relations, which has become a particularly important field of political battle for the socialist conviction of society. This means that every problem in the area of the history of Polish-Soviet relations and cooperation in various areas must be perceived from class, nationalist and internationalist aspects, and the material taught must be credible and devoid of reticence. It should be remembered that the ideas of this friendship grow from the historic experiences of the Polish people and the people of the USSR, from the common battle of progressive and revolutionary forces of our people, and from common purposes and goals that arise from fidelity to principles of proletarian internationalism. We, the party members who support the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society in its organizational and propaganda activities, must be the driving force behind the realization of this important educational task.

The next battlefield for leadership is personnel policy. Work with personnel must take the course of greater concern of the echelons and party organizations, for preparing young people to work in responsible positions and for the systematic and objective evaluation of and accounting for the tasks assigned. We must continue to hold effectively to the principle of supporting people who are active and have initiative, and at the same time to remove malingerers and mediocre people from positions.

The battlefield for leadership is the reconstruction of an authentic, class trade union movement. We learned this in recent years, especially during the battle for new trade unions. In fact, 113,000 workers joined these unions, which is nearly 42 percent of the work force. But we continue to have plants in our province in which not even initial groups of new trade unions have been formed thus far, and in many plants, the development of trade union organizations is proceeding very slowly. But we are encouraged by the fact that the majority of new trade unions is made up of workers. Trade unions are and will be the measure of the influence of the party on the working class. People join them who are with us and have confidence in the party policies, and this promotes ties with the working class, which had been so very strained. It is also the key to understanding, which is the deciding condition for the realization of the program that will lead us out of the crisis. Only action in this direction will return the sense of the Leninist concepts to the ties of the party with trade unions and with the whole working class. In order to accomplish this task, the party must be a workers' party, now more than at any other time. To reinforce its worker character, a decided striving to meet the basic needs, interests and expectations of the working class is indispensable. Constant, daily battle with waste and corruption, incompetence and arrogance, violation of human dignity and laws of social justice is of major significance in gaining the confidence of the working class. The party must stand at the forefront of battle against all forms and manifestations of evil.

Toward Social and Economic Stabilization

Ideological problems and economic problems do not have separate times or separate spheres. They are closely related, interwoven lines of a single front, the front of great historical confrontation between socialism and capitalism. It is for this reason that what has been happening in the small geographical sphere of our province and in the small time segment of the last 30 months was in fact a battle for socialism. It was nothing other than a battle for the realization of the program of the congress for escaping the economic crisis and stabilizing our economy.

With keen attention, from day to day, we follow the results of management in the Opole industrial plants and in the Opole agricultural establishments. Our party echelons tried with various initiatives and decisions to carry out this difficult and complicated process, especially to help introduce mechanisms of the economic reform that is an offspring of the party, and the party has the obligation to provide for its true development by correcting errors in a timely fashion. I believe that we can already see significant result in many areas of the economy of our province.

In 1983, products marketed by Opole Province amounted to more than 250 billion zlotys; this was almost 7 percent more than in 1982. It is worth emphasizing that this increase was achieved with a 1.1 percent decrease in work force and a simultaneous increase in productivity of 8.2 percent. Good results during the past year were obtained also in socialized housing construction. New housing amounted to 3,027 units, that is, 17 percent more than in 1982 and 3 percent over the plan. To this list of building, we must also add five pre-schools, and two medical clinics, as well as other facilities for public use.

We also note an improvement in the functioning of Opole commerce. In addition to increased sales and replenishment of many supplies, we have extended the commercial network itself.

Just as in the rest of the country, much weight has been and is ascribed to increased market production in our province. This increase was evident in light industry plants as well as in units of light manufacturing. Let us mention at least the initiation of production of rubber farm boots in the Otmet Slask Leather Industry Plant in Krapkowice. The Opolanka Knitwear Goods Plant has increased its production capacity significantly by installing an additional 50 stocking units. We may also include here the productivity of the cooperative of the disabled which will, for example, produce and supply the market with 100 tons of cord for sheaf-binders, made from salvaged production discards.

The Key to Self-sufficiency

Agriculture and the food economy have grown in recent times to the rank of fundamental activities of the national economy. The results of the work of farmers has a basic significance for the formation of the political situation in the country. Our program for improving people's nutrition and the prospect of attaining food self-sufficiency of the country is the main goal of the new agricultural policy of the party, realized in conjunction with the ZSL. Carrying out the resolutions of central party authorities, we devoted much effort to agricultural and economic matters in the last term. We held three plenary meetings of the PZPR provincial committee on the subjects of political work at the village level, the tasks of agriculture in the 1983-1985 period, and the prospects for the development of the agricultural-food industry. We established the basic directions of activity, initiating industrial, cooperative and craft production for agriculture. These matters were also pursued by basic echelons and party organizations connected with agriculture. Actions undertaken in the last 2 years have had a positive effect on production results in agriculture. There was a significant improvement in land management, the land area not under cultivation decreased, and the exploitation of agricultural land improved. Significant improvements were made in the management of collective farm lands. We obtained good results in vegetable production. The average yield of the four grains for the last 2 years was approximately 35 quintals per hectare; this is an increase of 3 quintals per hectare compared with the average for the years 1976-1980. The best results for the period were attained by the state farms; in the last year the average yield of the four grains increased to 43 quintals per hectare.

The highest yields for 1983 were attained by: Antoni Pruske in Sucha Psina, 73 quintals per hectare; Michal Tarczynski from Zlobizna, 64.6 quintals; the group of agricultural schools in Prudniki, 64 quintals; the agricultural combine in Kietrz, 59 quintals; the Dzierzkowice RSP [Agricultural Producer Cooperative], 57 quintals; and many others.

We made the assigned grain purchases successfully. In 1982, we bought 240,000 tons of grain, and of the 1983 harvest, approximately 300,000 tons, which is about 6 percent of the national total. This places our province in first place nationally in grain purchases.

Purchase of turnips reached a record level and was 80,000 tons, which is 16 percent of national production. We got good results also in production of sugar beets, whose yield increased by more than 10 percent, and the yield definitely exceeded 1 million tons, which is about 7 percent of the national total.

As a result of serious drought, the harvest of roughage, and especially potatoes, was smaller. In addition, a significant drop in the sale of nutritive fodder had a negative effect on animal production, particularly poultry and pigs. In comparison with 1981, the number of pigs decreased by 12 percent, and the greatest decrease occurred toward the end of 1982. Only in the last few months have we seen indications of a halt in the drop in numbers of pigs.

We suffered significantly greater losses in poultry production. As a result of the shortage of imported feed, live poultry production dropped from 28,000 tons to approximately 6,000 tons annually. This meant that the purchase of live poultry computed in terms of meat decreased from 93,000 tons in 1976-1980 to approximately 70,000 tons annually during the last 2 years. The situation in production of cattle and milk in our province appears more favorable. We noted an increase in production and purchase of milk while the number of heads of cattle remained unchanged. In 1983, we bought 315 million liters of milk, which is an increase of more than 13 percent compared to 1981. The average production of milk per cow increased. The agricultural combine in Kietrz deserves special mention; from a herd of more than 2,000 cows, the yield was more than 5,000 liters per cow.

In the agriculture-consumer industry, we are experiencing continuing delays in development of a processing base. In spite of the major efforts of plant personnel, there are difficulties in the rational management of milk, sugar beets, and fruits and vegetables. To improve in this area, we must continue to modernize the existing agriculture-consumer bases and set small processing plants to work. Specific tasks in this area were determined in the resolution of the PZPR provincial committee in November 1983.

In spite of achieving good production results in Opole agriculture, we are setting ourselves more ambitious tasks for the future. The main tasks involve further improvement in land management, particularly in the sector of land improvement and maintenance of improvement equipment. In plant production, we must increase the production of fodder and decrease losses in the process of fodder conservation. A basic task in animal production is reestablishing the size of pig herds and increasing the nutritive efficiency of fodders.

Successful carrying out of the program of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress will depend on the success of our program for feeding the people.

Through the Prism of Experience, Setbacks and Successes

I have presented selected problems from the Opole sociopolitical reality in which our party organization was functioning during the last 30 months. The experience acquired by it, its setbacks and successes, its weaknesses and its recovering strength, were summed up in the reports-elections campaign, which comes to a close with today's conference.

This campaign was a difficult task. What we were concerned with during this campaign was an answer to the question: Was our activity creating optimal conditions that would guarantee further development of our provincial party organization?

I can say that the course of the campaign forms a basis for a positive response to the question posed. But we must be conscious that despite the fact that the worst is behind us, not everything bad is behind us and not everything easy is ahead of us. As Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the 14th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, not everything will pass smoothly, there will be various obstacles and shoals. Most important, however, is the direction of change. We have tried to make maximum use of what was and is possible. I believe that we can also apply this maximum to us, to the Opole region. It is also worth remembering here that the time in which the reports-elections meetings were taking place was not favorable for this campaign. We felt an impatience with the somewhat long wait for the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee among party members, a sudden worsening of social attitudes after the decision to reintroduce rationing of fats, a decision disastrously prepared as far as propaganda is concerned. An understandable agitation followed the announcement of the awaited proposal to increase food prices. Finally, the general increase in political tension in Europe caused unrest.

But the reports-elections campaign attained its goal. Reports-elections meetings in basic party organizations were the most auspicious. Discussions there were lively and constructive. In comparison with previous campaigns, a positive trait of the discussion was the return in its course to matters of vital interest to everyone, matters of the plant and the environment. We might say that the effect of the economic reform being carried out could be felt. There were many statements expressing concern about daily life, about peace and the meaning of life. During some of these meetings, community initiatives to benefit the environment were undertaken (here we might cite, for example, basic party organizations in Jelowa, Dabrowa, Slawice, Bierawa, or in the provincial regional hospital of Opole).

On the basis of these meetings and discussions, we can say that the party is slowly regaining its mobility, organizing capacity and political position. But a disquieting cloud is cast over this picture by the fact that few workers have been elected to the gmina, city-gmina and city party administrations. We are also concerned by the small number of workers among the delegates to our provincial conference. In spite of this, we are beginning today's conference with great hope.

At the end of my presentation and at the end of the term during which, according to the will of the delegates to the last conference, I served as first secretary of the provincial committee, allow me to thank very cordially all of those who were with me in this party work, with whom I was privileged to work closely every day or even only indirectly. This was priceless moral support to me. Thanks to all comrades of the outgoing provincial committee, the provincial audit commission and the provincial party control commission, the activists and workers of all echelons of our Opole party organization. I thank them for strength of spirit, for ideological principles, consideration and uncompromising attitude, self-sacrificing social work for the good of our party.

Thanks also to our provincial partners among allied political partisans, the ZSL and the SD. Owing to them this partnership was dependable and fruitful. We all want the discussions of today's conference to be marked by the courage of creative thought and consideration for the word in the history of our Opole party organizations. Together we will develop a program that will serve the whole Opole region!

2950

CSO: 2600/785

RESULTS OF SKIERNIEWICE PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTION CONFERENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by Zygmunt Broniarek and Jan A. Kraszewski: "Skierniewice: We Must Not Rely on Others"]

[Text] Wladyslaw Bednarz, a farmer from Kowiesa Gmina, told the provincial reports-election conference in Skierniewice: "Without bread and meat we will not produce any agricultural machinery or tools, but without machinery or tools we will not increase agricultural production." His words reflected the tone of the conference proceedings which were characterized not only by a clear approach to the issues at hand, but also by a search for resources in the province itself without relying on assistance, at least not for a lot of assistance, from other levels of authority, including the central government.

Attending the conference was Jozef Czyrek, a member of the Party Central Committee Politburo. Jerzy Urbanski, the chairman of the Central Party Control Committee, and Zbigniew Gertych, the vice marshal of the Sejm, also called on the conference's presidium.

Several trends were evident both in the speech of Provincial Committee First Secretary Janusz Kubasiewicz, and during the discussions themselves. The most important one dealt with how to best maintain the ties between the party's authorities and the party's members and working people generally. The point was not one of theory, but of specifics.

One of these specifics involved the unannounced visits by the Provincial Committee's first secretary and the governor on Tuesday to plants, stores and to their long lines. These visits, on the one hand, allow an instant, on-the-spot appreciation of the situation; on the other hand, due to purely psychological reasons, they provide an incentive to those visited to make an even greater effort.

Another way to maintain contacts with the public is provided by "economic dialogue," i.e., meetings announced beforehand in the press during which administration representatives answer citizens' questions on various aspects of daily life. The party provincial echelon puts a premium on information

concerning current events, particularly those which most interest the party membership, reaching the rank and file quickly through basic and branch party organizations.

The Discussion

Jerzy Slominski, the City Committee first secretary in Zyrardowa, focused attention on the connection between economics, especially that part of which deals directly with people's needs, and economic policy. He cited an example from commerce: "Commerce affects not only what we eat and wear, but also how we feel. Specifically, it is an issue of awareness, and, therefore, a political issue which has to concern us profoundly." Jerzy Slominski also spoke of the need to "help ourselves" and referred to the trilateral agreement between the housing cooperative movement, the plants and the Skierniewice building combine which should literally "extract" an additional 440 apartments in the 1984-1985 time frame.

Colonel Wladyslaw Beben, the chief of the Provincial Army Staff and vice chairman of the Central Party Control Committee, made the point that army activity is another element of this same problem. Here are just a few examples of the army helping the province: the construction of two bridges and a kindergarten in Skierniewice, the constant efforts of several hundred soldiers in modernizing railroad tracks, and their participation in harvest activities.

A subject of concern on the part of the delegates was the issue of insufficient participation on the part of workers in the provincial party leadership. Of the 227 delegates, 32 were workers, 24 peasants and 171 intellectuals. The absolute necessity of drawing a greater number of workers into party work was emphasized.

One of the conference participants stated that "there is a feeling that we are not approaching the reform too boldly when life demonstrates to us that we need to make bold, albeit prudent decisions which deal with life's needs. Such a need is the establishment of an incentive system of emoluments free from the burdens of the 'old legal setup,' a system which would make 'working for the state' worthwhile." From the side someone added: "And do it right the first time."

The view was also expressed that the current financial principles used by the enterprises breed attitudes of indifference which are felt in the reluctance to uncover all possibilities. Although not very boldly, someone spoke of the need to reward white-collar workers better, inasmuch as their work is the basis for other workers' efficiency.

The province of Skierniewice is a great agricultural supplier for the large metropolitan areas of Warsaw and Lodz, and it was the peasants who set the tone at the conference on the important subject of foodstuff production. It would be wrong, however, to think that these peasants were only concerned with the shortage of tools, fertilizer and maintenance. One of the peasants

stated that "we have to figure out how we can help ourselves." These representatives from the countryside had touched upon one of the most important social and political problems faced.

Comrade J. Urbanski's Speech

During the conference, Jerzy Urbanski, the chairman of the Central Party Control Committee, made a speech. He concentrated on intraparty affairs and emphasized the continuation of efforts aimed at consolidating the party's ranks.

He said: "It is not the number of party members which demonstrates the party's power of influence, but the quality of our work among non-party people. We have to keep in mind that the key feature in this demanding and responsible work is its ongoing and difficult nature. We have to stubbornly strive in the direction clearly delineated by the Ninth Party Congress. It is a fact that the effectiveness of our economic management will judge us and decide on our success. The skillful rendition of party resolutions into the effective daily organization of our economic life is also essential. This fact must influence the style of party work begun during the restoration process."

Comrade J. Czyrek's Speech

Comrade J. Czyrek affirmed: "The ongoing reports-election campaign in our party, its experiences and proposals will be summarized at the national party conference. This conference will adopt a long-term party activities program and pass the ideological programs declaration discussed by our party for a long time now."

Further on in his speech, Comrade Czyrek turned his attention to the problems associated with elections to the people's councils. He stressed that the comprehensive discussion and consultation being conducted by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth prompts us to believe that elections should be direct and based on the close consultation between the candidates and the voters. This is one further proof that our party together with other parties and champions of national understanding advocates the consistent democratization of our public life.

In speaking about the problems associated with changing the prices of consumer goods, the Central Committee secretary stressed the major role of the trade unions in this open dialogue with the public.

While answering many questions, Comrade Czyrek emphasized that imperialist propaganda is doing much harm by undertaking everything which disrupts our country. Beginning with these points, the speaker described the international situation and expressed the conviction that the Stockholm conference would become the forum for realistic dialogue.

Janusz Kubasiewicz Reelected Provincial Committee First Secretary

The delegates decided to elect the Provincial Committee first secretary as the first order of business. One candidate was voted for. Janusz Kubasiewicz was again elected the Provincial Committee first secretary after he received 214 votes out of 221 cast.

The first plenary session of the Provincial Committee took place in the evening. The session completed the election of an executive board and the Provincial Committee secretariat. The leaders of the Provincial Party Control Commission and Provincial Audit Commission were also elected. The conference adopted an action program for the upcoming term of office.

12247

CSO: 2600/800

PAX DAILY COMMENTS ON PRIEST TRANSFER

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 27 Feb 84 pp 1,2

[Article by S.W.: "More About the Ursus Incident--Shooting From Behind the Fence"]

[Text] The progress of understanding and stabilization in Poland, including the relationship between the state and the Roman Catholic Church, does not suit the purposes of those who sponsor Radio Free Europe and similar propaganda centers. The Polish Episcopate, under the direction of the primate of Poland, Jozef Glemp, is increasing the church's involvement in moral, social and patriotic responsibility, and is avoiding getting involved in politics, according to the recommendations of Vatican II. That is the reason why those centers take every single chance to confuse Polish public opinion and undermine authority of the primate of Poland.

The current protests of parishioners from Ursus after the local priest, Rev Mieczyslaw Nowak, had been transferred to another parish, afforded such a chance.

On 20 February Radio Free Europe announced: "Prelate Jan Gorny, who tried to defend the decision made by the Roman Catholic Church's hierarchy, was ridiculed and hooted during the meeting held with the Ursus parishioners last Saturday." From this we should understand that the hierarchy itself was ridiculed and hooted because of that decision. "According to the primate of Poland," Radio Free Europe states further, "Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the transfer of Rev Mieczyslaw Nowak is a promotion, and does not have any political bias." Again, it is a very simple trick: they state "according to the primate of Poland" because they want to reserve the opposite point of view for themselves and suggest the necessity of such a point of view to their audience. The significance of the incident is increased by means of a small, almost unnoticeable verbal exaggeration: "Nine persons continue a hunger strike," "Continuation of a strike" sounds much more serious than mere "not eating." A prank is not called a prank, and shouts of single persons are called the opinion of the entire parish community.

On 21 February Radio Free Europe was still broadcasting news about the Ursus incident, but this news was tactically supplemented with quotations introduced as excerpts from sermons read by various priests. Among them we could hear

the following passage: "Brother miners and all people of hard underground work. Today we join you in prayer. St Barbara is the patron saint of underground work, so let us also pray for those who bring words of truth to the light of day and hand them down to the people, regardless of censorship." This time the conjurers from Radio Free Europe underestimated the intelligence and educational level of Polish society. For they told one of the best jokes ridiculing the mentality of the alleged extremist preacher who tried to create, in this stupid manner, a patron saint of the political underground.

In another broadcast of the same day Tadeusz Nowakowski advises the people of our country in Latin: "extremis malis, extreme remedia," which means "extreme evil [requires] extreme remedies." The primate and the Episcopate do not accept that principle, for it is not Christian and entirely contradictory to Christian spiritual and moral values. This explains the attitude of Radio Free Europe toward the above-mentioned authorities.

Akin to Radio Free Europe, Voice of America quotes at the same time a certain J. Kifner: "Cardinal Glemp was severely criticized during a closed church meeting by priests who, like the majority of the Polish nation, remember Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski as an unyielding enemy of communism."

It is not always worth one's while to argue with sly foxes and conjurers, but since they love Cardinal Wyszynski so much, we may adduce several quotations from the cardinal's speeches for further use in their broadcast: "You know yourselves that our social and political changes have revealed many shortcomings in our morals, striking the Polish nation and spoiling it. Many people believe that the system alone is to blame. But the system is as it is and yet it does not compel anybody to steal, cheat and to commit such enormous frauds. Let me put it this way: those things are people's 'private undertakings'..." (excerpts from a speech delivered during an "oplatek" meeting of the Society of Friends of the Catholic University of Lublin, 28 December 1980).

"There are people who advise the church, especially while shooting from behind the Parisian fence... After all, we remember, my Beloved, how much noise has been made during the last 35 years after one church initiative or another. It was that way during the period of closing the 'Agreement', which some circles abroad considered as treason" (from the Christmas Eve speech to the priests of Warsaw, 24 December 1980).

"Even though you have had various temptations of a political nature, remember that your primary goal is the fulfillment of your duties regarding the social needs of working people, namely: protection of the environment of the working people, their work safety and hygiene, and observance of the Labor Code and social legislation." (from the speech to representatives of NSZZ Solidarity, 10 November 1980).

Contrasting Primate Glemp with Primate Wyszynski is tremendous hypocrisy, and doing it in broadcasts addressed to the Polish nation is impertinence toward millions of Catholics in Poland who know the truth directly from its sources. Therefore, the question: "Why do those foreign agents do it" should be asked by every Pole before he tunes his radio to their frequency; then he will understand their broadcast much better and more profoundly.

POLEMIC ON CHURCH, STATE RELATIONS EXAMINED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 7 Feb 84 p 5

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz and Daniel Wojtowicz: "Beyond Dialogue and Agreement"]

[Text] Interfering in other people's polemics is a practice rarely followed in our press, although it is not forbidden. We are doing so hereby not on account of the individual polemicists but because the subject of the controversy is of importance to our paper as well.

In the 4 December 1983 issue of ITD, the organ of the Polish Students' Association, there appeared a very interesting, although--let us not hide the fact--controversial discussion with two Marxists, the political scientists Drs Mirosław Karwat and Włodzimierz Milanowski. The discussion was sharp, rather one-sided, conducted with a passion rare for our press, but honest politically and in terms of worldview. And the subject was ticklish, as evidenced by the very title: "God, Satan, Lenin and...?" The point is, then, about the matter of Marxism and the Catholic faith, cooperation between Marxists and Catholics, and cooperation between the state and the church.

Within a rather short period of time the well-known Catholic writer Andrzej Micewski came forward to speak in this matter in the Catholic periodical (mass-distributed by parishes) NIEDZIELA (15 January 1984). In the lengthy text "Young, but Seemingly Hardened," A. Micewski attacked and practically reviled the interview in ITD. We read many epithets about both of the young Marxists: that they are schematists, doctrinaire; that they are dogmatists; that they are "professional enemies of the Lord God" and also "harmful"; that the contents of what they publish can "be the result of either ignorance or ill will." It is not surprising that having read such "arguments," we reached for the incriminating interview to check their justification, although the justification of epithets is rather unverifiable and always puts those who use them in an ambivalent, at the least, light...

In the ITD discussion, which was conducted by Piotr Gadzinowski, the editors set off in a frame probably the most controversial statement made by W. Milanowski: "The Polish church does not have any moral authority at all; at most it has authority as an institution." It is no wonder that a text provided

with such a motto could upset a writer publishing in Catholic papers. There is no way one can agree with the matter presented by the young Marxists in such a way. After all, if the church did not have moral authority among us, it would not have it as an institution; it also would not constitute a political power. The fact that the church exhorts people to follow the commandments and people continue to steal, drink, commit adultery, etc., does not testify to a lack of authority. Here Dr Milanowski clearly overshot the mark, which the editors accordingly printed as a particular sensation. But the arguments in defense of the church's moral authority as set forth by A. Micewski--thanks to the church's authority "in 1980 and 1981 there were no acts of violence or mob law, no coercion or terror, not one window was broken"--are also not totally valid and apt--we would have found better ones (what about the wheeling out in barrows, the burning of the Citizens' Militia station in Otwock, the threatening with razors and hanging?). There is no way, true, that Micewski can compare our situation with Iran, Turkey or Lebanon. One ought to measure more carefully how much of our historical, after all, peace the church deserves credit for, and how much is due to other factors.

In general, however, Andrzej Micewski's polemical method is strange. The argument concerns, after all, two young Marxists whose worldview gives them the right to express their own opinions, and those different from the truths of the church, the more so that they do this in a student publication with a relatively small circulation.

In this polemic the writer attacks his adversaries from the very beginning for that which they did not say. For he extracts a fragment of a quote from the interview: "Prominent hierarchs (of the church--my note) as a rule collaborated with the invaders," and he answers that this sentence contradicts the facts and "becomes a lie": "Who else if not the church was then the depository of Polish national character, for which it made painful sacrifices? They were borne by the leading members of the hierarchy as well, at least by Archbishop Felinski in the tsarist sector of partitioned Poland and by Archbishop Ledochowski in the Prussian sector." The arguments are of high caliber--only they are directed at the wrong target. For nowhere in the text of the interview did Karwat and Milanowski maintain that the Polish church was not the bearer of Polish national character. Accusing them of this is a convenient way of placing them "against the wall" and sharpshooting without a miss...

There is, after all, no contradiction between the statement that prominent hierarchs collaborated with the invaders, and the church, as a whole, being the bearer of the Polish national character. These mechanisms were quite accurately explained in the serial "The Longest War in Modern Europe," in which the case of Archbishop Ledochowski was fully described. In a similar way, there is no such contradiction between the Polish national character and the statement of both doctors that the church "was always on the side of the ruling classes."

These and similar misunderstandings, however, would not be worth major attention: it is understandable that a Catholic journalist would try in every way to defend the church against real, although alleged, accusations

and even if he goes too far--one can understand that. Still, it is disturbing that on the basis of this defense, the writer in the periodical NIEDZIELA builds a number of false theses, theses which are profoundly unfair to the discussants in ITD as well as to the publication and the youth organization that stands behind them.

Namely, Andrzej Micewski poses rehtorical questions unequivocally suggesting that the statement of Karwat and Milanowski attack the idea of national agreement and the essence of the dialogue between church and state. This is the least important misunderstanding.

The very fact that ITD printed an extensive and prominently displayed interview devoted to the problems of cooperation between communists and Catholics, between the leaders of the Polish People's Republic and the church hierarchy, is proof that the student weekly desires to contribute to the finding of an optimal model of cooperation, so important from the point of view of every Pole. The ITD discussants maintain, however, that at the present time, the forms of the dialogue on the line of state-church are not yet perfect, and the idea of dialogue is often misunderstood in everyday thinking.

"It is commonly thought, however, that there exist two great powers in Poland: the party with its program of rebuilding society based on scientific premises, and the church with its thousand-year-old culture and morality. It is believed that if you were to unite these two powers--science and progressiveness with culture and morality--a golden mean would then be found; a 'human socialism' would then emerge. You could unite the Central Committee with the Episcopal Council," says Dr Wlodzimierz Milanowski to illustrate the current false--which he emphasizes--understanding of the idea of agreement. The discussants do not maintain that any official agents proclaim themselves behind such an understanding of this process--on the contrary, they are opposed to such thinking.

Instead they promote the logical and--in our judgment--correct view that the cooperation of all Poles--believers and non-believers--is necessary for the cooperation of the two powers.

"The minimum degree of such cooperation," says Dr Mirosław Karwat, "is the mutual arrangement of institutional relations between the church and the state. The maximum would be determined by finding a certain form of active cooperation. PRON [Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth] is an attempt to embody such an option in life. But PRON is a form of equality in rights of the citizenry of Catholics, Marxists and others, and not the transmission of influence and blessings by the party and the church."

It is precisely these views of the discussants in the weekly ITD that especially disturbed the writer in NIEDZIELA. He seems to have missed the sense of the quoted fragment and reminds us that church-state relations are regulated in bilateral contacts at the highest level. But of course they are! Karwat and Milanowski in their considerations are looking for a formula for broader, general cooperation among so-called ordinary people--and this is a completely different matter from bilateral contacts.

Guarding against the idea of including the church in the activity of PRON, Andrzej Micewski reminds us:

"The church by nature of its religious and supernatural goals does not enter onto any political planes and into any political organizations. The church does not get involved in any political ideologies, since its mission and its kingdom are not of this world."

In relation to this one could discuss to what degree the church in our reality remains truly apolitical. The facts that allow one to doubt the categorical nature of this statement are well-known, but that does not matter. The fact that the Holy See demands of the hierarchy that it remain outside institutional political life does not preclude the possibility that the young Marxists would detect the need of broad participation of Catholics and the church in active work in support of the development of socialism in our nation. They have this right--whether one likes it or not. They have the right to criticize the fact, which Andrzej Micewski does not deny, that the church remains in politics always in the position of a reviewer, or rather, of a critic.

It seems, however, that the deliberations of the writer in NIEDZIELA as to what degree and in what matters the church is or even ought to be taking a side in politics do not constitute the main point of the argument with the student weekly.

In a further part of his article, Andrzej Micewski, with the help of various arguments, defends the view that the cooperation of state and church in our country should mean that the government stop promoting a materialistic, or scientific worldview. It was supposed to be, then, a dialogue in which--in ideological matters--one of the sides speaks and the other is silent.

"The school can give an account of various philosophical doctrines but should do this in an objective way, creating the possibility of independent choice by the young people."

The school is an educational institution remaining--in accordance with the law in force--in the hands of the government, and is one of the most important means of influence on the younger generation. So why should the government stop persuading the students about the ideology on which its system is constitutionally based?

Andrzej Micewski wants every person to have the possibility of achieving his own choice of ideas. We can support this demand. However, will this person not have this ability when the school consistently teaches him one thing and the church another?

It is difficult for anyone to say that the church in our country has limited opportunities to influence the citizens and above all the young people (see box below). There exist thousands of stations offering religious instruction, the Catholic press publishes almost 2 million copies of its publications and,

finally, the church has at its disposal the enormous power of the pulpit. Is the "objectivism" proposed by Micewski supposed to mean that the clergy should objectively present the foundations of Marxism as well? Obviously the author does not have this in mind. He maintains, however, that "it is very bad when the pupil hears in school, at home and at religion classes totally different things in each of these environments." Why? After all, earlier on he was concerned about the possibility of choice. To choose you have to have something to choose from. Since the church does not remain neutral, the school cannot be neutral; since the church fights for "souls," the government must fight as well. The idea of dialogue does not exclude the possibility of just such a battle.

Andrzej Micewski suggests that the scholars who expressed their opinion in ITD do not want dialogue between the state and the church. This is yet another--let us believe accidental--oversight. He probably did not read the criticized text to the end. And it ends with a statement by Dr Karwat, which we quote in its entirety:

"We cooperate because we are different. We have to be honest to ourselves and to each other. We have to know who we are and then cooperate. Then there is no masking of contradictions or negotiating in matters which it is known from the start cannot be obscured or realized. Cooperation is sought when there is mutual interest and a mutual goal. On this level of cooperation arguments are superfluous."

Unfortunately, Andrzej Micewski is looking for a level on which neither goals nor interests are mutual.

[Box]: Religious Publications and Press in Poland

Catholic non-serial publications in 1982:

- 31 licensed Catholic publications, of which 27 are represented by the Episcopal Commission for Publishing, subject to church censorship. Of these, 3 church publications are limited liabilities companies;
- 10 publications of the Episcopal Curia;
- 9 publications of religious orders and others. A total of 289 titles were published with an issue of 4,136,000 copies and for this enterprise the state allocated 2,250,000 kilos of paper (of which the PAX Publishing House had 559,000 kilos). In 1983 a quota of 2.5 million kilos of paper was allocated for issue numbering 10 million copies.

Besides this, in conjunction with the pope's visit in 1983, permission was given for an additional 50 titles and for an issue of 4.5 million copies.

Periodicals, Press:

A total of 111 titles are published with a single combined issue of 2 million copies. Of that, the Catholic press issues 66 titles; Catholic lay associations and groups--22 titles; press of other denominations--23 titles.

SIWICKI VISITS MILITARY EXERCISES IN POMERANIA

AU280910 [Editorial Report] Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish on 22 March and 23 March, on pages 1 and 2 in both issues, carries two consecutive 1,000-word Ireneusz Tulowiecki reports tracing the visits recently paid by Defense Minister Florian Siwicki to several military exercise areas within the Pomeranian Military District. The date of neither visit is given and the locations not specified other than, as both reports put it, visits to "the soldiers of the Pomeranian Military District" and "some of its garrisons."

On 22 March, Tulowiecki provides a 250-word introduction to Siwicki's visit to "one of the training areas of the Pomeranian Military District," describing Siwicki's inspection of the "none too easy training plans in progress," which needed the "increased combat capabilities of the regiments using the complex technical equipment," since "modern technology plays no small role in this process" nowadays. These are "tasks that were mapped out by the minister of national defense for 1984." The reporter states that Siwicki is accompanied by his deputy General of Arms Jozef Baryla as well as by General of Division Wojciech Baranski, director of the Combat Training Main Board; General of Division Zygmunt Zielinski, director of the Ministry of Defense's Cadre Department; and by General of Brigade Stanislaw Fryn, district quarter master of the Pomeranian Military District and deputy commander of the Polish Armed Forces.

The object of this particular exercise was the "repair and overhaul of technical equipment at the training area," as well as its "evacuation." It was found that even in "these difficult, still almost wintery conditions--neither did the men nor the instruments they were using fall short of expectations." This was "not at all surprising due to the political and educational work conducted here, in the field," the report notes. Siwicki is said to have talked with the soldiers about their work and then "made a high estimation of their activities," which is reported in conclusion in a 200-word paragraph, in which he also calls for the "further improvement of these repair systems."

In the 23 March report, Siwicki is similarly said to be accompanied by his deputy Baryla and by the same deputy ministers as before. The object of these particular exercises is, according to the reporter, the implementation of "ideological and educational tasks, training and organizational tasks, and economic and technical tasks." The purpose of the visit was to view the following issues: "The strengthening of discipline, developing leadership and competitiveness in the men, and increasing their concern for suitable work and service conditions." The report notes Siwicki said that, "interhuman relations

influence discipline, the quality of task performance, and the standard of combat capabilities," and that the basis of these relations is "the socialist norms of coexistence." Siwicki is again said to have been "especially interested in technical issues, which have considerable influence on the level of the combat readiness of the armed forces." He also meets with the families and wives of some of the men and reportedly discusses their problems as they were "concerned for the good of their husbands' service, their children's growth and development, as well as for an improvement in the families' standard of living."

The report notes in conclusion that Minister Siwicki "cleared up many issues that had recently been of current interest to people--and he presented the lines of action that were aimed to resolve the most keenly felt issues." He finishes by adding that "the social activeness of the wives of military men is of great help to the cadres because it creates the right family atmosphere--one that favors the implementation of none too easy tasks."

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CROATIAN WRITER GORAN BABIC EXPRESSES HARD-LINE POLICY

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25-26 Feb 84 p 11

[Interview "by correspondence" of Goran Babic by Krste Bijelic: "A Feeling for Storms"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Goran Babic needs no special introduction. Our public knows him not only as a poet, but also as a superb polemicist who has always been quick to sharpen his pen without hesitation when he did not agree with someone or something. As a rule his statements have not failed to evoke a reaction, and we should not be surprised if this contribution also encounters numerous polemical responses.

This conversation, by force of a variety of circumstances, was not conducted "live." Goran Babic answered in writing questions which were put in advance. That is why there are so many things in this text placed in parentheses, which, of course, cannot occur in spoken language. It is also why the person who "conducted" the interview cannot sign his name in the usual way. It can only be said that the questions were thought up and the answers to them obtained by Krste Bijelic.

[Question] Why is it that as a rule--aside from honorable exceptions--our creative intelligentsia, which is committed to socialism and self-management, that is, our cultural, scientific and other public figures and politicians--ideologues, have for years worn themselves out in debates with one another and working out their entanglements (which indeed need not be a bad thing), while they are rather anemic and almost neutral when it comes to arguments, views, and indeed the increasingly well-organized activity of quasi-radicals and spokesmen of ultraleftist or rightwing views concerning development and relations in society? Is this a consequence of the view that not only should a dialogue not be conducted with them, but even that just to engage in a showdown with them would be to recognize their real position in our society. Or perhaps are we dealing with the fear on the part of the intellectual committed to socialism and self-management that he might on the one hand be left isolated in that showdown, and on the other that he might be labeled as a "backer of the regime," a "dogmatist," a "lackey in day-to-day politics," and so on?

[Answer] There are at least three questions in what is given as the first question, and there would need to be even more answers if we take into account the assumptions (assertions) implicit in the question that has been put. Let it first be said that "our creative intelligentsia, committed to socialism and self-management" is by no means a homogeneous (social) category and that for that very reason it is logical (comprehensible, natural and acceptable) for various differences, debates, polemics, and so on, to occur, which (ultimately) is nothing other than the realization of the fundamental postulates of socialist democracy. The only thing that can come from all such public discussions, from a dialogue of that kind, is some kind of general consensus when (and if) it concerns the prospects for society, its future. After all--socialism in its Yugoslav coloring--is a dish which our working class, the nationalities and ethnic minorities of this country, are cooking up (for themselves) without written recipes, without dogmatic models, without compulsory examples (from someone else's experience), and on the basis of the premises of scientific socialism, all those achievements which Marxist thought (and practice) over these 100 or so years has verified as worthy of man on his road toward freedom, in accordance with our conditions, situation and possibilities.

The Neglected Sector of "Ideology"

That, then, is one thing, and another (and different) thing is the attitude of our variegated intellectual socialist conglomerate toward everything on the other side (of the barricade). Is that attitude "anemic" and "almost neutral" (in the long run or in the short run), and if so, why is it like that--these are some of the fundamental questions concerning our ideological front today, and everyone must make some attempt to answer them. We may or may not be able, we may or may not be obliged, to agree with the answers, but (ultimately) we ourselves have to commit ourselves in some way. That being the case, then, let us see how matters stand.

All of these things are there, all of it exists, in our actual everyday life (everything mentioned in that awkward introductory question), but there are also many other things not mentioned.

There is, then, anemia (for instance), but there is also struggle; one can indeed find "neutrality," but one also sees its disappearance (banishment, abortion and termination) when the water gets up to the neck; here and there is even the attitude that the adversary must not even be mentioned, much less warred against (since in that way you are granting him some implicit recognition, while otherwise it is as though he doesn't exist), but even that kind of ostrich's position is not any kind of historical innovation at this point; assume even that there are such "fears" of isolation, of betrayal and of name-calling like "backer of the regime," "dogmatist," and so on, in which no attention is paid (usually) to the character of that "regime" and that "dogma" and that "politics." According to some people (and there are quite a few of them), all politics is politics, so that an (any) attribute applied to that noun is insignificant.

As can be seen, we are talking about a conglomerate of phenomena, processes and relations, in which every phenomenon (individually) necessitates unceasing detailed analysis (and a practice founded on that analysis).

Since we (as a society) have largely neglected the entire sector of "ideology" (unceasingly pressed by what is called the urgency of day-to-day pragmatism [affairs]), it is no wonder that we often lack even the most ordinary insight into the individual segment, and there is hardly any question at all of an overview of the entire composition. The great conductors of our revolution (as to its ideological aspect), such as Krleža, Kardelj or Bakaric have been, all of them, of course, following the lead of the Marshal, still did manage to maintain control of the orchestra, each in his own way, in keeping with his own style and abilities, but after them it has become increasingly difficult to see the whole, and every little thing pushes into the foreground in some partial way. Yet that is after all to be expected in view of the loss we have suffered in a short period of time, and it will be a while before the collective mind of our revolution is consolidated. These few years have offered (both to the world and to us ourselves) valid and irrefutable evidence of the strength and firmness of the socialist social relation, and all the doomsayers who foretold the imminent downfall of self-management have fallen silent and disappeared from the public scene..

At the moment we are embroiled with the problems of stabilization (which are neither small nor short-lived), but the essential problems still remain at the very heart of the social organism and demand a much greater effort and commitment "in the ideology sector" than we have made in recent years. One might almost say that we tackle that job only when some consequence (among others) of our idleness hits us in the head and one jolt of that kind was everything that happened (or is happening) concerning Kosovo. In the same way we were splashed by the wave of fundamentalism, and before that by the caricatural form of quasi-Eurocommunism, and so on. On the right there is even now a visible effort by the clerical nationalists to imprint what is referred to as the Polish situation on Vatican carbon paper, and the way various fads take hold in the world, we ourselves can expect an echo (of it) quite soon or in a little while. Finally, I would say that what others are up to and what they do is not so essential as it is important for us to work at building and to build an autochthonous system of values of our own, our own view and our own criterion concerning the world's variegated actuality. But this is something that has already been discussed in these pages, and it is worth recalling that most of the theses in the Ljubljana speech (by Krleža) have not yet been brought about by any means. In that context the contemporary intellectual output of Yugoslav intellectuals is largely at the level of the shoddy handiwork of liberal capitalism.

The Right to Make a Mistake Today

[Question] This brings us to a reflection on what the true intellectual actually is today. To what extent is that term used so often, the "honest intelligentsia," still valid today? Has that term been superseded?

[Answer] In the heads of the creatures of our salons the term "intellectual" is closely related to names such as Leonardo, Einstein, Aristotle, Hegel, Spinoza, and the like, and most look for a place for their own name on that list. What on the other hand is actually happening around that personality, the historical performances taking place, what the day brings and what the night brings, the human carnage on so many real battlefields, the human beings still disintegrating from leprosy even now (today), the skeletal children going hungry, the desperate people being murdered and the stifling of so much hope--none of that matters in the least.

The attribute "honest," given the essence as we have described it, is nothing more than a farce, and in the period when it was operative (if we ignore a certain influence of the Russian model on its actual establishment in these parts) uncritically covered an equally small number of our intelligent people who placed all they had on the altar of the revolution as well as that (larger) number of specimens who hitched on to the socialist convoy. As the heat of the revolution died down, the rats climbed out of their holes, changed their stripe, and began their work once again. Now we are waiting for a plague before striking them again, and for those to whom this sounds rough we should pull out of the museum the proclamation concerning the execution by firing squad of Adzija, Prica, Kersovani, Rihtman and others and tell them that that poster meant nothing, absolutely nothing in the world, to all those intellectuals (neither then nor later). To those on the other hand to whom yet (today with different names) did or could mean something and for whom it is not necessary--they see it though it be invisible, since even now the same hand is writing. The right question, then, would be this: Why does evil repeat itself?

[Question] The alleged conflict between the intelligentsia and the party is often an object of manipulation. There is no such conflict, nor can there be when it comes to the attitude of our creative intelligentsia toward the fundamental commitments and aspirations of the League of Communists. Yet it is not impossible that there might be a "run-in" with certain moves made in day-to-day party politics. The "opposition" in such cases should actually be that authentic and creative dialogue within the party whose result would be a qualitative difference. Do we sufficiently nurture that kind of debate and disagreement, or do we sometimes, because of oversensitivity on the part of an individual official or party organ or forum have a habit of cutting it off at the outset?

[Answer] As the saying goes, if you are going to fight, you have to have weapons. If we accept what has already been said about dialogue (in this conversation), it remains to be seen what has happened to the so-called right to make mistakes in our overall context. I take this to be one of the great questions of our entire struggle. Let us illustrate what we have said with an example--is it at all possible today to imagine a situation similar (or identical) to the one in which a party penalty was pronounced against V. Bakaric, P. Gregoric and J. Kras, and yet after that they organized the uprising and became national heroes? To go further, is it possible to really understand the full magnitude of the Marshal's genius in extending his hand to Krleza after that kind of split, about which so many good-for-nothings (no

more, no less) uttered nonsense? When Cavoski--Kostunica babble about Dragoljub Jovanovic, Grol and Company, is this only a propman's business (in the contemporary theater) to the effect that an archaic costume must necessarily smell of mothballs, or is it a dirty business (deliberate and organized) aimed at restoration of the prerequisites for some sort of reestablishment of indirect democracy as designed by Djilas--Tudjman? How is one to recognize what is what and the whys and wherefores in all this?

The Position of the "Extraparliamentary Opposition"

In other words--in the gap between the demands (open or disguised) on the one hand for ever more inclusive rehabilitation of all and everyone (and according to this way of looking at things, the erasure of memory would extend even to Artukovic and Djujic) and on the other that concrete memory which does not ever allow anyone (since it is and remains holy and saintly) a single (even the smallest) error or blunder (which it never commits because it never does anything)--in that gap, then, it is not, of course, impossible to argue about a "dialogue on an equal footing," but it is not especially "productive" (to borrow a term from our "leftists"). As far as I personally am concerned (if I may so put it), every kind of speech (in the direction of establishment, articulation and achievement of a more human world) is not only possible, but indeed necessary, until we agree about something, but when we have "reached agreement and understanding," then we have presumably given our word, and the time has come to stick by it. And the error, then, is not (nor can it be) in any sort of "crime of thought" before the agreement, but in the act committed afterward, in the act aimed against it. Certainly this is all a discussion of a matter of principle, while life in the raw nevertheless unpredictably shows and distinguishes between the one who is pushing the cart and the one who is chocking the wheels.

[Question] In some of our news media, especially in their departments devoted to culture and on pages reserved for the views of authors, space was until quite recently given even to people who advocated various "alternatives"--even when it had to do with assessments of historical events, and when it had to do with the development of society, and we will not even talk about culture. An organized social campaign has left less room for the presentation of such views, and their protagonists have been demanding other "channels" and have found them mainly in certain public discussions, whether they are official or "wildcat." How is one to oppose this: with bans or certain other methods?

[Answer] We have already had something to say about the "introductory" part of that question, and now we need to answer (in specific terms) the last sentence. Allow me a slight digression--how do the protectionist measures of the advanced (Western) countries square with the (already worn-out) slogan of the "free world"? Not at all, of course, but still both of them continue to exist unhindered. The "free world," that is, bans only one little thing--that poor people cease to be what they are: free in their misery. And that is (according to Marx) the very essence (fundamental prerequisite) of capitalism's existence: the dually "free" worker, legally (in not being tied like the serf to a feudal lord, i.e., in being mobile) and economically (in

being "free" of property, i.e., in being master of no more than his own labor power (ability)). Is there anything more peaceable than the peace movements in front of American bases in Europe? No, there isn't (nothing more than a naked green vegetarian), so why arrest them and put them in the clink?

Our own "extraparliamentary opposition" is more privileged. Not only does it have as its disposition certain public lecture series, periodicals, publishing houses, associations, committees, commissions, broadcasts and congresses, but even (and this is much more essential) university departments, institutes and academies. This is utterly clear to the wisest among them, so that they do not even vote, but simply take advantage of what is offered to them. Those who come forward (in public) are mainly silly hangers-on and only here and there a few of the big guns (when he is certain that he will not lose any of his loot), so that in that context bans are worse than ridiculous. The rag (the prosecutor) wipes with a sponge (the ban) what the chalk has written on the blackboard, but no one even thinks about the blackboard, the chalk, and especially the hand. Opponents of social ownership wage war with the assets of society against society, against some particular conception of society. What do arguments (which arguments, when and for whom) mean in such a situation?

So, when we are referring to something concrete, let us nevertheless illustrate it so that we don't again get: "Certain people in a certain place." So, presumably it is now clear to everyone (after all the pandemonium in recent years) that behind the numerous public statements, the polemics (of this kind and that), the petitions and all manner of other stuff there is after all a battle, basically more or less differentiated, being waged between different forces in our society. If, I say, it is at times not clear (visible, recognizable and comprehensible) to some of our comrades (male or female) who is where, this does not mean that the other side has no better or more accurate insight into the situation, overview of events and lineup of forces. Yet all those people are especially comical who concern themselves so much with the so-called conflict on the Left 50 years ago without seeing this current one today and without noticing that they themselves (like it or not) have been drawn into it. There are also those who want peace to be made all the way around, and so on, but I promised that I would be specific.

So, in the skirmish that is still going on, they certainly are not fastidious about their weapons or methods (to be sure, we have not yet gotten to cudgels) in eliminating their adversary, but how our honorable opposition does this (performs it) is perhaps most visible from the example of the showdown which the associated Yugoslav gossipmongers had with Oskar Davico and Stipe Suvar. Whether or not we might individually agree with a particular view (or act) of these two communist intellectuals is not essential. The essential thing is that basic thing--that at this moment (even) they are among the most distinguished names in our leftwing thought (and deeds), and if here and there they are not given credit for this on the "left," they absolutely receive acknowledgement on the right.

Recognition, however, takes the form of barrage fire, and there is no fool, scoundrel, liar or thief (among our "intellectual" small fry) who has not

found it appropriate to spit on those two. And not only to spit, but to do everything (or as much as one can) to frustrate them, to shame them, to insult them and to humiliate them, and so they lie, they invent and they carry on intrigues in a disreputable manner not employed even by the most rightwing press in the hands of the most extreme reactionaries. And the essential thing at this point is not what they argue, assert and prove, nor is it essential that the lie has been demonstrated and proven dozens and hundreds of times--the dragon of our primitive, petit bourgeois and petty nothing-at-all consciousness, the entire distress of our envy, maliciousness and jealousy is every little while raising its reddish little head and flicks its tongue, hisses, nibbles and bites.

When the Small Fry Climb up on the Table ...

One can still understand, say, when M. Markovic debates with Davico, but who is that kid from OSMICA (that is a newspaper which you publish) and where did he hatch, who takes the liberty to judge a legend as though he were referring to his pal at the same table in the coffeehouse? Who allows a good-for-nothing like that, little errand boys in the market, minor "poetic" jerkoffs in various editorial offices to repeatedly rub up against and nudge that name? Ultimately even those 1-day apparitions are not important, nor block-heads like the one who has been dismembering Krleza in installments in DUGA, to the joy of all necrophiles; it is absolutely incredible that editors-in-chief are letting pass what they are, while at the same time my comrades (Sujica, B. Radovic, Ralic and others) do not dare to show their face and to tell that baggage--that's enough, you animals, you are through! Or, in a similar style, in the case of the manhunt against Suvar. Even if we neglect all the rage of an R. Supek or Kuvacic (for which G. Tesic gave them as much space as they wanted), even if, then, we overlook that, it is absolutely incredible what the "famous" author Lj. Kljakic has written, for example, in the pages of that same KNJIZEVNA REC. Without blinking an eye, that is, he accused of being a Croat nationalist no one other than the man who is without any kind of rival or model, at least in Croatia, with respect to his contribution to the struggle for brotherhood and unity of all our nationalities (and the Serbs and Croats in particular) in the domain of his intellectual output. And all of this, then, is possible under the darkened conditions in which phantoms and real people exist side by side in the daylight and when all values are leveled out and nullified in the name of an apparent and alleged equality. But it is clear and unambiguous that in the general quagmire even a V. Krivokapic for instance can be some kind of "factor," even though when it comes to courage he could not even be a negative Rh factor. So, as in Njegas, even that time has come in which the small fry who would not be allowed to even poke their nose into an honest house have climbed upon the dining room table.

That book, just imagine, please, that "Gospodar zaborava" [Master of Oblivion] (perhaps Davico's best novel), by a man 70 years old, written with so much passion, fierceness and talent that even a young man would not be up to it, did not receive even 10 coherent reviews, while at the same time (indeed in the same cultural milieu--for the benefit of Kis and the other Frenchmen) the diverse output of ZAPIS, a company of two-bit comics and nobodies (as far

as literature is concerned) is or can be the subject of criticism! What sort of criticism, whose criticism? The criticism of a Milosevic, a rightwing SR [expansion unknown], or a Matvejevic, under whose orders Pavicic, Zima and the other brothers of the "Vjesnik" SOUR [Complex Organization of Associated Labor] are promoting the London orthography, and then Vuk Krnjevic told me dobrocastivo [word unfamiliar to translator] that Matvejevic had nevertheless humbly renounced the unacceptable theses concerning language. Let him renounce the Declaration, and let Vucina utter a peep about the Proposal (Predlog), if he dares! Just one callow hero after another when an assault has to be launched in the CIK's, ZUM's, DUGA's and similar packaging for game to be led to the slaughter (nor will they be weak when it comes to fists, bottles or knives, either in the coffeehouse or in the dark somewhere), but they are somehow reluctant to utter even a word about the invasion of that vast litter recently whelped to devastate the entire country. And the cohorts of Kermauners, Hribars, Rupels, Donats, Jelcices, Tenzers, Drakulices and others pass by and merge mainly in Belgrade, while Rade Cveticanin is silent, and Dautovic is silent, and even Deretic is not waging war, nor is Galovic naming names. Only here and there a Brana Milosevic smacks Zika Berisavljevic or that little newspaperman Dusan Popovic or Vucel in KOMUNIST mildly reproaches Mihiz for doing his job in a "misconceived" ethnic manner, though certainly not a word was said about nationalism. Certain it is that it is no better in Zagreb either. It is true that neither Djodan nor Baletic are making a sound, but Buvac and Korosic and so on and those like them are clamorous. Even here Cifric will not dip his pen to say a word (in public) about sociology of the Drakulic type or philosophy of the Sesardic type. The witch of our right squawks: "Stalinism, Stalinism!" with the very appearance of authors like Kacar, Jurinic and Oreskovic, as soon as an ideological pen comes forth to say: "The emperor is wearing no clothes and could not be more naked!"--and that is a glimpse of the marketplace in our time.

Perhaps It Is Not in Vain

[Question] You are known as a polemicist "lacking fear or fault" who never was afraid of "rushing" into various showdowns and debates. You published most of those articles in OKO, but recently also in a book with the indicative title "Mozda uzaludno" [Perhaps in Vain]. Do you really think that all this has perhaps been in vain, all your explanations, your clarifications, your "arguing" and disagreement with these views and stances and those?

[Answer] The title of the (that) book contains a question mark at the end. I am not certain, I do not know. Perhaps there will indeed be some benefit out of all that, and why after all should we not try the impossible anyway? There is a poem of Cavafy's about Leonidas, who (according to Cavafy) knew that Ephialtes would guide the Persians on the other side, but still that did not prevent the Greeks from trying to thwart the attackers. Incidentally, time will pass and none of us (living) will be left, but books will remain. Let the judgment be rendered by those to come, who will be free of (our) passions, loves, hatreds and errors. Our churches (Catholic and Orthodox) today glorify Jurje Krizanic and Sava Mrkalj, but at one time they raised an anathema over their heads. But nothing is less important than our destinies, and there is no need to even talk about that.

[Question] One might conclude from some of your answers: a) that in principle you are against a dialogue which is not "situated" in a definite social context, and b) that in principle you are also against the division into the party and the intelligentsia. This survey by BORBA is a kind of dialogue, and the subtitle implies precisely that division. Why have you nevertheless agreed to participate in it?

[Answer] For several reasons. First, it does involve BORBA, to which I am tied (even) by sentimental reasons, from my very childhood. Second, admixtures (at least in its "cultural" segment) of some sort of "isms" have penetrated even BORBA through the involvement of certain immature "pens" from the arsenal of our commercialistic periodicals which prattle all sorts of unparalleled stupidities (and monads of all kinds) so that this has already passed all measures, and I wanted to say (in the face of those efforts) a few coherent words. Third, the subtitle is actually at fault and self-contradictory, since it suggests that there is no intelligentsia in the party and that consequently the intelligentsia is not in the party. That is, of course, true to some extent (more or less, with or without good reason), but that cannot be an argument, so that this statement (of mine) is only a contribution to the destruction of that kind of thinking (if that thinking is an instrument of philosophy, which by definition wants to concern itself with the Truth). Fourth, if we hold back, the space will not remain empty, it will be taken up by other tenants and other ideas. Fifth, there is a need to call a spade a spade. Lying never got us anywhere.

7045

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REACTIONS TO BABIC INTERVIEW

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3-4 Mar 84 p 2

[Articles by several authors, as given, in response to the interview of Goran Babic]

[Excerpts] We wrote in our last issue that "as a rule the statements by Goran Babic have not failed to evoke a reaction, and we should not be surprised if this contribution also encounters numerous polemical responses."

Our predictions have been borne out. Rarely has this newspaper been so flooded with telephoned and other (written) reactions of those summoned (whose names were called) in the interview referred to. So in this issue here are the first reactions, those which arrived before the paper was put to bed. We, of course, reserve the right not to concur in some of the characterizations, especially when they aim at the "flesh" instead of the topic! To recall, the title of the BORBA series within which the interviews are being "conducted" with sociopolitical and public figures reads: The Party and the Intelligentsia. Since this is a public discussion, one that to be sure is both socialist and democratic, we are also publishing parts of letters and indeed of interviews with which we do not entirely agree--as good editors and good professionals.

Just those words to accompany the beginning of the reactions to the interview which we published in our issue on 25-26 February of this year.

A Poet's Hallucination

[Letter to the editors by Stipe Vukovic, Ivanoviceva 15, Split]

It is well known that poets have a lively imagination, but Goran Babic has surpassed in these even Cervantes' Don Quixote. However, by contrast with the harmless Don Quixote, who sees his adversaries in windmills, Goran Babic sees those enemies in every person who thinks differently from him. This in and of itself would not deserve any particular attention, if Goran Babic had not attempted to portray those imagined enemies of his as enemies of this society and socialism, as he does in his interview published by BORBA on 25 February.

If we accept the assertion of Goran Babic to the effect that eminent (original reads "immanent") Marxist philosophers, prestigious writers and scientists who hold university chairs, who, that is, are bringing up the new generation, that these are all "rats," "animals" and "thieves," who are only waiting a moment to take up knives and continue the work of Artukovic and Djujic, then our dreams about a humane socialism would be a mere illusion, since a society which has such people at the very summit of its intellectual superstructure is not mature for socialism, but needs the guardianship of some other civilized race. Fortunately, those are only Goran Babic's poetic hallucinations, but still they ought not to be propagated through the principal organ of the SAWPY. But now that this has been done, a public warning needs to be issued as to the full harmfulness of the irresponsible name-calling which Goran Babic engages in.

That is, the humanistic intelligentsia cannot be against socialism, by the very nature of its calling. If a segment of that intelligentsia has a critical attitude toward our practice, that is only a sign that that practice has not been sufficiently socialist. It is, then, a mistake to proclaim the critics of that practice to be enemies, as Goran Babic does. Socialism is no one's private property, but our common task, one which we all have a duty to work on, not in the sense of mutual intolerance, but in a sense of respect for an opposite opinion, since only a clash of opposed opinions generates the sparks which light the pathways of our social progress, and that helps us to avoid the pitfalls of errors into which we have toppled so often. A person who is not in favor of people cannot be in favor of socialism either, since people are the greatest value of socialism, and it is not permissible to refer to them as "rats" and "animals," and to offer no evidence whatsoever for that degradation of people to the level of disgusting beasts which might justify it. In the free contest of opinions retrograde thinking can never conquer progressive thinking. One must be suspicious about the progressiveness of anyone who fears that contest or who stands in its way.

Imaginative Epithets

[Letter to the editors by Josip Pavicic]

The writer Goran Babic (hereinafter referred to as "KGB"), a man who "needs no special introduction" who "our public knows him not only as a poet, but also as a superb polemicist who has always been quick to sharpen his pen without hesitation when he did not agree with someone or something," "a polemicist 'lacking fear or fault,'" has taken pains, with the help of Krste Bijelic, the Zagreb editor of BORBA, to demonstrate yet again how "every kind of speech (in the direction of establishment, articulation and achievement of a more human world) is not only possible, but indeed necessary." Along the way, demonstrating how speech "in the direction of the establishment, articulation and achievement of a more human world" functions in practice, KGB also remembered my name which I did not mind, since that gave me an occasion to state in public what I think about KGB's speech "in the direction of the establishment, articulation and achievement of a more human world."

Just like KGB, I think that this speech is "not only possible, but indeed necessary," especially when it is used by such clever speakers as KGB. That is where we see all his great morphological, syntactic, stylistic and especially lexical resources displayed. For example, I will enumerate only the imaginative epithets with which KGB has adorned those with whom he does not agree, people who are honorable citizens, writers, newsmen, professors, free men, public figures committed to socialism, members of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Goran Babic's "Full Contact"

[Letter to the editors by Igor Mandic]

It was indeed with a melancholy amazement that I learned a few days ago--from NEDELJNA BORBA, 25-26 February--that an official of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia, indeed a member of its Presidium, had publicly called me no more nor less than a BAGGAGE and ANIMAL! These are the decorative epithets which the writer Goran Babic unsparingly awarded--among others--not only to me, but directed toward dozens and dozens of cultural figures, writers and journalists in Yugoslavia at large. Long notorious as a polemicist who lacks verbal tact, this time G. Babic has truly come into "full contact," dealing the lowest blows without any sort of consideration, in the style of a true barroom brawler. Never before have we experienced THIS KIND OF ESCALATION OF VULGARITY in our recent public and cultural life and intercourse, and consequently I do not regard Babic's statements and views even as a polemical challenge, nor do I intend to answer them here. That is, as a citizen [the word is used also in the sense of "city dweller" and "civilized person"] in origin, upbringing and mentality (which has never been held against me as a sin of my parents), I am neither up to, nor desirous of rolling around on a dirty barroom floor with a challenger of that kind. But if this is not polemics--which the person who edited Babic's interview smelled out in advance--then what is it?

THIS IS A FORMAL PROTEST AGAINST THE VOCABULARY OF AN OFFICIAL OF THE CROATIAN REPUBLIC CONFERENCE OF THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE OF WORKING PEOPLE, WHO VULGARLY DEGRADES THE MINIMUM DECENCY OF THOSE SAME WORKING PEOPLE WHO ELECTED HIM TO THAT HIGH FORUM!

This is the conclusion of my protest: I demand, that is, that the Presidium of the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP examine as soon as possible the moral and political fitness of the statements made by its member Goran Babic (and so inform its membership), that is, that also be done by the constituency which delegated him, since I say that it is impossible to live, work and communicate normally in this society as citizens who "become part of the system of self-management democracy with full democratic responsibility ... (...) abiding by its democratic 'rules of the game'--if the sword of that kind of 'inhumane mode of criticism' continues to hover over our head" (E. Kardelj).

Writing as Slander

[Letter to the editors by J. Pjevic]

After they received praise from a majority of the members of the publishing council (which refused to accept the resignation of Mile Setinc as chief editor) for the support offered to a monstrous conception of satire and humor which is advocated and applied in practice by the responsible editor of PAVLIHA and by the "fighters" for "unrestricted freedom of newsgathering," the "radical--avant-garde editors" of MLADINA, the newspaper of the Slovenian Socialist Youth League, they first snapped at the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo (when they were taking place) and then they "gave a lecture" to the chairman of the SFRY State Presidency on how he should or should not behave when he represents our country abroad, and now this week they have "revealed" to us that our personnel policy and electoral system are helping to consolidate the administrative and political managerial apparatus and to place incompetent and compromised people in positions of responsibility.

As "evidence" that our personnel policy and electoral system are serving to consolidate the administrative-political hierarchy and bureaucracy, they used the nomination of Veselin Djuranovic to be a member of the SFRY State Presidency from SR [Socialist Republic] Montenegro. In an editorial entitled "The Djuranovic Case" (which was also used in advertising the paper over television), MLADINA writes that our social and electoral system cannot be compared at all with the smoked-filled rooms of Western elections, but that in that smoke-filled room in the West a compromise politician has not the slightest or any possibility of success, that our personnel and electoral policy "attribute almost no significance whatsoever to personal attributes (abilities and so on) of the candidate," while the Western electoral system attributes great importance to them.

In addition, our system does not recognize "degradation," that is, according to MLADINA, "an authentic degradation which is very rare and as a rule is carried out only at the lower levels, functions primarily as a warning to others in the hierarchy." According to MLADINA, then, the system is not good because it is not aimed at degradation of the individual? But as an illustration that this is not done in our country, they cite the "case of Djuranovic," who "in this construction figures as a candidate who, to be sure, is not the sole and only person responsible for the present economic situation, but he truly does bear a great part of that responsibility or ought to bear it." Everything that we have said, MLADINA magnanimously concludes, does not in any way dispute Montenegrin sovereignty in nominating its own candidate?

MLADINA has been joined in its attack on the personality of Veselin Djuranovic and certain republic officials by PAVLIHA, more precisely by its responsible editor Bogdan Novak and those who think like him, who forced Milos Mikelen, a superb writer of humorous and satirical articles, to submit his resignation as chief editor and director of the "Pavliha" Work Organization. Behind the mask of a parody of the new pornographic weekly KAJ (started up by VECER of Maribor in order to improve its financial condition in a hurry),

Bogdan Novak and those who think like him have published a special pornographic and satirical newspaper JAK, which refers to Jak Koprivec, president of the Slovenian Writers' Society, who as the founder of PAVLIHA instituted proceedings for dismissal of Novak as responsible editor.

In its "heroic and avantgardist JAK," PAVLIHA prints several "jokes" which seethe with revenge and the sullyng of the name and personality of Jak Koprivec, Franc Setinc, and other officials. Photographs of the former Polish prime minister Jaroscewicz and Veselin Djuranovic are published side by side.

They write of Jaroscewicz that the deputies in the Polish Sejm debated his responsibility for the high foreign debt, and they write of Djuranovic that SR Montenegro nominated him to be a member of the SFRY State Presidency "even though he headed the Yugoslav Government at the time when our country's indebtedness rose to over \$10 billion."

This kind of tasteless and slanderous writing by PAVLIHA has been sharply condemned by Milan Meden, editor-in-chief of DNEVNIK of Ljubljana, in a commentary entitled "Why KAJ?" This kind of "avantgardist-radicalistic" writing by MLADINA and PAVLIHA deserves every condemnation, but the question that arises in this connection is that of the accountability of those public authorities which up to now have taken a tolerant attitude toward this kind of destructive activity or have even given it tacit encouragement. The question is raised of the responsibility of those who first "initiated" the debate about the agreement of our two organizations of associated labor with an American firm during the visit of the president of the SFRY to the United States and the "case of Djuranovic," whose nomination has also been opposed by other Ljubljana newspapers (not only MLADINA and PAVLIHA).

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MORE REACTIONS TO BABIC INTERVIEW

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Mar 84 p 2

[Articles by several authors, as given, in response to the interview of Goran Babic]

[Excerpts] So, the polemics continue. We, of course, reserve the right not to concur in some of the characterizations, especially when they aim at the "flesh" instead of the topic! To recall, the title of the BORBA series within which the interviews are being "conducted" with sociopolitical and public figures reads: The Party and the Intelligentsia. Since this is a public discussion, one that to be sure is both socialist and democratic, we are also publishing parts of letters and indeed of interviews with which we do not entirely agree--as good editors and good professionals.

Plastic Innocence

[Letter to the editors by Milivoje Glisic]

We live in a dramatic period. This is a period of crisis, social, moral and economic, and the crisis, by the nature of things, provides a good occasion for all kinds of gunslingers and hangers-on. A crisis creates its negative heroes, those who turn a defect into a virtue, and a virtue into a fault; yet a crisis is not inclined toward thinking and logic, because thought and logic presuppose a different game. The gunslingers, however, shoot people in the back, and the hangers-on perform their hygienic mission wherever they get a handout, in the pigpen. There is no clean game.

We are dealing here with such a person.

A self-styled Croatian poet, a "party intellectual," the sinecurist and careerist Goran Babic, has emerged from the mental and moral overcoat of Oskar Davico. Since Davico's overcoat was small, it had to give birth to a dwarf.

And so a bearded dwarf was born. It is marvelous how even to this day swarms of those little bearded fellows crawl out of the shadow of the Great Moustaches of the historically scrapped Josef Visarionovich with a desire to return the world and consciousness back to the bearded shadow, to give man and life the dimensions of their own small, pitiable and cloudy outlook. To abolish thinking and morality.

So, this Babic, who by his own unilateral decision proclaims himself to be a "party intellectual," hysterical and logorrheic, has fired yet another loud blank cartridge at both Belgrade and Zagreb. In the 20th installment of the survey entitled "The Party and the Intelligentsia," this little bearded fellow swaggered, issued judgments and verdicts, claimed to understand everything, showed concern (what a pity, he was concerned!) for the fate of Yugoslavia and civilization, when actually all the while he was sketching his own mental portrait. What comes through that abundance of phrases is an inferior nature with a foul mouth. The interview is a document of the lowest taste, more accurately, of a lack of taste.

But do you recognize that tone? The answer is correct, that is the tone of the teacher. Of that big little man Oskar Davico, on whose behalf it is that Goran pulls out his coward's pistol. Even in this case Goran remains what he is in his poetry: unimaginative and unauthentic. Goran is so unauthentic that he has to plagiarize even his crudity! He steals his spittle and curses.

The question that now logically imposes itself is what Goran's motives were in defending Oskar Davico, who is otherwise well-defended. The matter is simple. Davico is a man who, as Brana Crnjevic says, has spent up all his friends--it will be seen further on that the same has been done by the little bearded fellow--who, when it was profitable to do so, exchanged Djilas for Rankovic, and then Rankovic for Bakali ... and who still, whenever it is profitable, will change friends as he changes places of residence, apartments and views. Oskar knows how to do this profitably and at the same time to spit both left and right and forward and back, from Stevan Nemanja (who had gonorrhea, Oskar says) to Desanka Maksimovic, from Saint Sava to Mihailo Markovic. And it is especially profitable to fire shots against what is referred to as the bourgeois right, against Serbian nationalism, against Serbs in particular!

But we are talking about Goran Babic, one of those who have been in "error," and then they "came to," and now they have a mandate on the truth, so that their truth becomes binding even more widely. The little guy with the moustache, in other words, immediately grasped what it was all about and made haste with his diagnosis. Speaking about the crisis in our social thought, Goran Babic made the following observation a year or two back: "Accordingly, I also see a crisis in the fact that 70 percent of our intelligentsia have not read the Law on Associated Labor." That is what Goran Babic said! Taking up the Law on Associated Labor--that is the solution to our troubles. Magical and easy! And just see how nicely it was said.

Incidentally, in the early seventies Goran Babic floated on the waves of the nationalistic euphoria in Croatia, vigorously and determinedly, and his poem dating from 1971, "Is Croatia Burning," became a kind of anthem of the mass movement. When the business of the mass movement fell through, Goran apologized in public, accused those with whom he had agreed until the day before of having tricked him, made a break with his own past, and just let anyone today reproach him for it. Today Goran Babic is on the right road, by his own declaration, and he will never stray from it again. It is enough that he

explained losing his innocence in the mass movement because they seduced him. He asked for them to return his virginity. It has been restored. He performed that delicate piece of plastic surgery upon himself. Finally, Goran Babic has the right to innocence, even an innocence obtained by plastic surgery, until they seduce him again.

Rooster [?], You Lose

[Letter to the editors by Zdravko Zima]

The name Goran, at least when it comes to Croatian literature, is associated first of all with the legendary author of "Jama" [The Pit], a poet and fighter whose life was ended at the age of 31 (everyone knows where and how). Another Goran, in the same profession as the author of "The Pit," instead of writing verses and following the noble mission of his far more famous predecessor, has devoted himself to the extremely dubious job of public denunciation and unscrupulous belittlement of all those--university professors, philosophers, writers, critics and journalists--who in their activity do not fit into his "concept" of Yugoslav society. The author of some 10 collections of poems, who is mainly known for his 1971 poem "Is Croatia Burning" and the pamphlet "The Horrible Face of Nothingness," seems to have feared for his social position, and recently, in a trumped-up interview in BORBA ("A Feeling for Storms," 25-26 February 1984), has spoken out once again in the grotesque palette of the talent God gave him, which is that of an instigator and organizer of pogroms.

If one is to judge by Goran (Babic) and his words printed in the issue of BORBA we have referred to, it turns out that all the troubles which have afflicted our culture, and not only culture, should be blamed on some 20 public figures which he explicitly mentions, using by the way attributes and a poetic "license" such as is absolutely unknown in the history of our polemical press. To use Babic's "subtle" vocabulary, it turns out that some of our republics, especially Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia, are more like zoos than cultured communities in which men of letters are going about their business.

For me, as one of those whom Babic scratched with his poisoned arrow, convinced that he is the one who has the right to deliver lectures and to say who is on what side. In the introduction to that so-called interview Babic is presented as a "superb polemicist," and it certainly is forgotten that he is a political convert par excellence who changes convictions like a snake sloughs his skin and explicitly calls for the lynching of all those who do not agree with his vision of "humanism." Or perhaps the esteemed editors of BORBA believe that it is a part of every individual's constitutional right to express his personal view?

How is one to understand why this uncompromising fighter for the truth imputes to me the use of the so-called London orthography, which he, as the author of the anthem "Is Croatia Burning," which is known far and wide, is far better versed in than I am? Perhaps because I dared to write about Matvejevic's "Jugoslavenstvo danas" [Yugoslavism Today], and that book (or more accurately: its author) obviously is not to Babic's taste? That being

the case, then I apologize to Babic and those who think like him (I assume that they do after all exist). The next time I take up some publication legally printed in Yugoslavia and sold in our bookstores, I will first ask our "superb polemicist" what he thinks about that. Just so there is no confusion.

Babic peremptorily pastes the label "cohort" on the name of a Kermauner and certain other "suspicious persons." When he publishes a book which in a literary sense is at least approximately as interesting as Kermauner's "Mala odisejada slovenskog intelektualca" [Little Odyssey of a Slavic Intellectual], then one might be able to tolerate this "legionnaire's" deception of his. As it is, it all remains at the level of spitting in a dark Balkan tavern where they drink cheap crap and exchange equally cheap (after)thoughts.

Finally, there remains an incomprehensible riddle: What did Babic do to deserve the rare privilege of acting in this way as the merciless arbiter of the public activity of cultural figures from our entire country? Perhaps through his epochal opus as a poet, which has not yet been sufficiently understood? Or on the other hand his political (in)consistency?

In the history of the Croatian and Yugoslav literatures the name of one Goran [Kovacic] shines with undisturbed brilliance. If he continues his career as a denouncer with fast moves and an agile intellectual rooster, the name of that other Goran will also be long remembered. But it will not be perpetuated for the great literary work or even for an act that would vouchsafe the ethical minimum; as matters now stand, one can be sure of that.

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NOVA KNJIGA DISCUSSES PUBLISHING BOOK ON DJILAS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 84 pp 47-48

/Article by Z. N./

/Text/ Do the publicly announced doubts in "phantom manuscripts," "brutal commercialism" and "nationalist inspirations" in the Belgrade Nova Knjiga /publishers/ have any foundation in the present or future publishing plans?

At the District Business Court in Belgrade, representatives of the Zapis community of Belgrade writers initiated an administrative procedure some time ago because of the decision of the Stari Grad Commune to abolish that community. As it is known, this decision, at the initiative of the social self-management legal officer, was taken by the delegation of the assembly of the Stari Grad Commune in June of last year, and a few days ago (20 February) the Bankruptcy Council of the District Business Court took the decision which orders the implementation of the procedure of regular liquidation.

The explanation that Zapis "does not realize the legally defined goals and tasks for the sake of which it was founded" was recently given a "supplement" which has prompted rumors that a similar fate (criticism and objections) could be experienced by a publishing house too. For at a recent discussion on publishing plans for this year and present condition in the publishing business, the executive secretary of the Serbian CK SK, Radivoj Cveticanin, pointed out that at the margin of the publishing life there appear "continuator" of the trend of brutal commercialism and privatization which was personified by Zapis at its time," and that now Nova Knjiga from New Belgrade appears in the same light with a program which contains mainly those authors and titles in some way provocative for the public and thus commercially profitable.

The comparison of Nova Knjiga with Zapis, the information that its publishing plan contains authors and works which announce their "nationalist inspiration" or that there are in its program a few "phantom manuscripts" which float between publishing houses with an "uncomfortable" text label, and that we are dealing here with a deliberate mystification, were the reasons for a conversation with editor Nedeljko Mijuskovic and assistant director Ranko Mitrovic in this relative little-known publishing house.

"We have chosen," they said, "titles of cultural, historical, social, but certainly also commercial value. We did it without any desire or intention to include in the program proscribed books which are not in line with the League of Communists."

Obviously, complex economic conditions in the publishing business this year are not specific to Nova Knjiga.

"Under such business conditions (following all the economic principles), our plan does not contain 'phantom manuscripts' or 'brutal commercialism.'"

But what about the suspicion of "nationalist inspiration"?

They told us that this may have been caused by some publishing moves Nova Knjiga has made so far. Last year it published V. K. Volkov's "Ubistvo Kralja Aleksandra" [King Alexander's Assassination], Svotozar Vukmanovic-Tempo's "Pisma Iz Rezevica" [Letters From Rezevic] and Dragoljub Filipovic's "Kosovski Bozuri" [Kosovo Peonies].

"'Kosovski Bozuri' marked," as Mijuskovic explained, "the 100th anniversary of the birth and 50th anniversary of the death of a poet of the last wave of romanticism, who should have been remembered by some major publishing house too. As for 'Ubistvo Kralja Aleksandra,' we published the book because it had already been published in the USSR and because it has thrown new light on this historical event, in a documented way, on the basis of letters and telegrams which Volkov obtained. He maintains that the immediate organizers were Hitler and Goebbels, as well as the German military attache in Paris who later became a NATO official. 'Pisma Iz Rezevica' are Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo's memories, and the reviewers are Dr Zarko Bulajic and Dr Ivan Maksimovic."

Otherwise, 80 percent of books appeared in relatively small editions (about 1,000 to 2,000 copies). On "Ubistvo Kralja Laeksandra" and "Pisma Iz Rezevica" were published in editions of 5,000-10,000 copies.

However, it is obvious that in the publishing plan for next period, the literary and Yugoslav writers' program has been curtailed "because of economic conditions." Besides the "Nobel Prize Poets" series, they plan to publish, in the Zavicaaj /home/ series, five books of fiction and poetry of Yugoslavs who live abroad, in cooperation with the "Matica Iseljenika Srbije" [Serbian Emigrants' Home] and its magazine AVICAJ. In the "Svjedocanstva" [testimonies] series, it is interesting to point out the manuscript of the German Kristina Klara Sturzeneger, a physician who spent World War I in the trenches, taking care of the soldiers and living through all the horrors of war with them. The same series includes Nikola Pasic's memoirs, which should be published in cooperation with the Serbian Historical Archives, edited by an expert, Professor Dr Dragomir Jankovic. The "Horizonti" series will contain mostly works on historical themes: Nikolaj Berdyayev's "The Meaning of History"; Lev Shestov's "Martin Luther"; Mihailo Popovski's "Freemasons' Movement in the World"; Pero Todorovic's "The Death of Karadjordje"; Nikola Vulic's "Djuradj Kastriotovic-Skenderbeg"; and the manuscript "Secret Subversive Organization," which is a report of the military court trial in Salonika.

Commercial titles will include "Bridge for Beginners," "Finances and Interest and Foreign Currency Dealing and Regulations," written by well-known experts in these fields. Direct investments for the realization of the entire plan amount to about 30 million dinars.

Nova Knjiga entered the publishing field slowly; it began publishing in 1972, when it formed part of the Vlada Aksentijevic People's Library in Obrenovac, and its first published book was a monograph on the hero who gave the name to the library. Nova Knjiga later moved from Obrenovac to Belgrade, and today it is organized as a basic organization of associated labor.

In agreement with the Law on Publishing Activity, all the books published so far give the reviewers' names on the cover, and for some books in this year's program, several expert opinions have been obtained. Hesitation was certainly caused by the information that the monograph "Djilas--Then and Now" would be published, a title which reveals failed neutrality. It referred to Vasilije Kalezic's book "Djilas-Kontroverza Literate I Ideologa" /Djilas--Controversary on a Writer and Ideologue/ (about 400 pages).

Our informants told us that this book is not in the draft of their program for the time being. The author of the book, Vasilije Kalezic, obtained two reviews of it: one from Dr Zivkovic in the Serbian Historical Institute and one from Dr Gavrilovic from the School of Philosophy in Belgrade. The publisher however wants to get a few more opinions, as the theme is very sensitive.

Instead of concluding the still-unsolved hesitations about Nova Knjiga, let us say only that the role of reviewers is becoming ever more pronounced, which had not been the case completely to date.

It is a known fact that there is no publishing house in our country which is not regularly offered various manuscripts. They emphasized this at Nova Knjiga today: Receiving a manuscript and publishing it is not the same thing! Just because of this difference, responsible people in this almost unknown publishing house do not see similarities with the Zapis, which was a community of writers, while Nova Knjiga is a social organization with "such a publishing apparatus that it cannot, even if it wanted, operate outside the norms of society."

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CROATIAN WEEKLY CRITICIZES PRAVOSLAVLJE ARTICLES

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 84 pp 20-21

/Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "Dire 'Travel Notes'"/

/Text/ The dean of the Orthodox Theological School in Belgrade Atanasije Jevtic inaccurately and maliciously represents the situation in Croatia, attempting to say that in "our western regions" a deliberate struggle is being waged against Serbs and Orthodoxy.

Recently, addressing the associated Orthodox priests in SR Croatia, Ivan Lalic, chairman of the Commission of the Executive Council of the Sabor for Relations with Religious Communities, said that in our country there are people who, despite the real situation, maintain that "Serbs in Croatia are second-class citizens." He was recently proven right by PRAVOSLAVLJE, a newspaper of the Serbian patriarchate, which published "Putna Beleska" /Travel Notes/ (in three huge installments, in nos 402/83, 404/84 and 405/84) by the monk Atanasije Jevtic (dean of the Orthodox Theological School in Belgrade) under the title "From Kosovo to Jadovno." This text, as the title itself shows, tries to connect the Kosovo situation with the situation in Croatia, under the aspect of a "deliberate" struggle against Serbs and the Orthodoxy.

Transparent Sense

After visiting "shrines in Kosovo," Jevtic went, as he says, to "our western regions," with a few of his students, not only to bow to the shadows of the victims of the Ustasha terror but also to write his own special history.

Of course, he wrote it in the light of the above-mentioned thesis. Thus he thinks that all these "burial/ pits of an entire nation" must be counted again because "there still are unknown places of execution, unexamined pits and unmarked graves." But even what historiography has recorded is inaccurate, according to him, and he "corrects" it: From Glina to Jadovno. He "knows," for example, that in the church in Glina not 1,200 persons perished, as it says on the memorial tablet, but at least "1,800 Serbs," and he magnifies the data from the "Enciklopedija Jugoslavije" about the number of victims in Jadovno at least two times. Thus he exclaims: "Who needs, at all cost and wherever possible, diminutions of these tragic victims, primarily Serbian, Orthodox?" In order to avoid any confusion about who and what this refers to, let us say

that to him these places in Croatia where Ustasha camps used to be (and Jadovno above all) "look miserable and unbecoming to so many victims...abandoned, forgotten and terrifying."

The sense of all this becomes even more transparent if one knows that according to Jevtic, only Serbs suffered in Croatia during the war, and only because of the Orthodox faith.

Thus, speaking of the crimes of Endehazija, he does not at all mention the numerous Croatian, Jewish and other victims of the Pavelic regime, and it turns out that the so-called NDH was a historical fulfillment of Croatanness and thus of Catholicism too (the two are always identical to Jevtic), and not, as it indeed was, a puppet fascist creation which was never supported by the masses of people. Thus, although writing extensively about the suffering of Serbs in Croatia at the time, he never mentions, for example, an Orthodox priest (later a Vojvoda) Djujic who killed more Serbs than Croats, certainly not because of Orthodoxy. How could he do so, if he never even remotely thinks that people perished in Croatia not only because of faith but also because of patriotism, revolutionary ideas and actions, Serbs as well as Croats and others. If he kept this in mind, he would not be able to depict, as he seems to do, the uprising in Croatia as a consequence of the people behaving "according to tradition, to the resistance, in self-defense."

The following circumstance is interesting too: In this context Jevtic does not call Pavelic's puppet state the so-called NDH but simply NDH, and this name is mentioned many times in this form, while when he speaks of the present Croatia (thus socialist republic) he does not once mention its name but always calls it "our western regions," although he writes about it on more than six pages of PRAVOSLAVLJE.

Untrue Statements

In order to prove his main thesis ("subordination" of Serbs and Orthodoxy in Croatia), he exhaustively "reports" on the events connected with the seminar of the associated Orthodox priests of the Gornjokarlovacka eparchy in Plasko (namely, that there were three motives for his visit to "our western regions": the 20th anniversary of the Glina church, this seminar in Plasko, and unveiling of the memorial tablet in Jadovno). Thus he writes, among other things, that there were attempts to "break up their seminar," which is not surprising, as he says, if one knows that this society "unilaterally, as usual" dismisses "those already-known stereotyped relations between the church and the state." He concludes in this sense: "Nothing is more natural for us Orthodox Serbs than the wise word from the folk poem: 'Prince Marko, flee to the church.'" He added this indicative remark: "This was one more first-hand experience of what I have known for a long time, namely, who really abuses the trust of our much-suffering priests and how it is done, not only yesterday, but today also."

The statement about the alleged attempt to break up the seminar is at least untrue, especially since after the seminar (it is true that it was held in the church because there were some problems with social premises, which was mostly

caused by poor organization) Ivan Lalic attended a joint dinner. PRAVOSLAVLJE and its monk certainly did not inform their readers about it or about the real reasons which complicated things organizationally there.

What is more important is Jevtic's attempt to discredit our society by pronouncing the judgment on "the abuse of the trust of our much-suffering priests" and on the association of Orthodox priests in Croatia as a puppet creation which is manipulated at the expense of Serbdom and Orthodoxy. Everybody who has at least a little knowledge of the situation in our republic with regard to the Serbian Orthodox Church knows how far this is untrue. For together with the efforts of our society, these associations (being religious) contributed a lot to the creation of a more favorable atmosphere for the development and life of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Croatia and for peaceful coexistence in this area, which was certainly a reason why one of the most respected dignitaries in the SPC /Serbian Orthodox Church/, Bishop Simeon of Gornji Karlovac said: "If this association did not exist, we would have to invent it." And Jevtic now attacks precisely the association of his eparchy.

Abused Trust

He makes similar statements when talking about the unveiling of the memorial tablet in Jadovno. He thus "informs" the readers that there were attempts to disturb this event in Jadovno because he was allegedly told that "security cannot be guaranteed" (and he wonders: "I do not know whose, and from whom?"), and that the memorial tablet, dedicated to the bishops, priests and the faithful of the SPC who perished on Velebit" which was erected by the Union of Associations of the Orthodox Priests of the SRH, was "censured by somebody," all of which should "prove" his statement that "people have not become worse, but their condition is worse." It is hard to believe Jevtic's statements, especially since 2 years ago he and a group of his students were cordially welcomed in the village of Trnovac (from this village one can only go on foot to the Velebit graves because of the difficult mountain path, so that everybody stops here) by the local Catholic parish priest (Josip Kaps) and several villagers. Although they abused in the coarsest way the hospitality with which these people receive everybody who comes to Jadovno, they were nevertheless cordially received on this occasion (on which Jevtic is reporting now) too, and the above-mentioned parish priest attended himself the erection of the memorial tablet on Velebit. Moreover, he built a chapel with a Way of the Cross at the foot of the way to the Velebit graves. The consecration of this chapel was attended by the then Orthodox parson in Gospic and bishop's deputy, Jovan Obernovic.

Of course, PRAVOSLAVLJE nad Jevtic do not say anything about this, but unfortunately they do shout that there will not be any ecumenism until a penitence chapel is built on Velebit!

In relation to this, it must also be said that what Jevtic's excursion did in Trnovac 2 years ago really has nothing to do with peity toward the Velebit victims (most of whom were Serbs, but one must not forget the numerous Jews, Croats and others); it has to do with the damage to the prestige both of the SPC and the Orthodox Theological School in Belgrade. That is why it is really malicious to represent things like that.

Those speculations on the alleged censorship of the text on the memorial tablet are a testimony to this. The truth is that the text was carved on the tablet without anybody having seen it but its author and the people from the priests' association. And, as is well known, the text was composed by the Bishop Simeon himself, episcope of the SPC, who is certainly not censured by anybody. Does not this also prove that Jevtic's statements are not only irresponsible but also lack seriousness?

It is thus obvious that "Travel Notes From Western Regions" tend untruthfully and maliciously to represent the real situation in Croatia and to dispute whatever positive has been done so far (certain not little) in the relations between the SCP and social community in this republic, and in the relations of this religious community with other religious denominations in our country. A positive contribution was made by such people as Bishop Simeon, the priests' associations and certain by the forces of this society as a whole.

It really causes concern, the more so as these dire "Travel Notes" have been published not just in any newspaper but in the paper of the Serbian Patriarchate, especially in light of what was recently expressed by the associated priests of the SPC on the pages of their paper (VESNIK, no 724): "A wrong idea is present in some church circles that it is modern to be a little reactionary, because you are more respected and listened to them!?"

Of equal concern is the circumstance that such writing in the PRAVOSLAVLJE (which, unfortunately, is not an exception) has not been subjected to a social criticism so far, although this is a newspaper accessible to everybody, whose language is understood by everybody.

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SERBIAN ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES REPUBLIC CONSTITUTION

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 84 pp 16-17

[Article by O. Kovic and B. Radivojsa: "Agreement and Differences"]

[Text] Thus far joint views have been achieved on many issues in implementing the constitutional position of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The differences basically originate from two constitutional-legal concepts and views of Serbia as a whole. One of these reduces the republic and its relations with the provinces to the minimum of legislative regulation established by the Serbian Constitution, and thus giving it only the formal features of a state and an integral sociopolitical community, while the other sees the position of Serbia as a state and sociopolitical self-managing community in the implementation of the whole of the constitutional system.

The delegates of the Serbian Assembly will soon be presented with an analysis of the implementation of cooperation and constitutional position of the republic. The analysis was composed after 2 years of work, on the basis of reports from 15 subgroups and 1000 pages of material to start with, by a special working group of the Commission for Constitutional Issues of the Serbian Assembly, with a claim to having performed a comprehensive investigation and assessment of the situation in every individual area of social life, as well as the overall situation in the Serbian Socialist Republic [SR].

The Commission for Constitutional Issues organized a discussion at the end of January, at which, it was generally felt, several agreements were reached on some crucial issues concerning the building of self-managing cooperation and unity in Serbia. The differences expressed were the reason for the formation of a new working group with the task of drawing up for the Assembly in a month a revised version of the analysis of relations in Serbia, on the basis of subsequent comments.

We asked Radoslav Ratkovic, the deputy chairman of the Commission for Constitution Issues and the chairman of the newly formed group, how much of this subsequent work had been done thus far. Although the group has not yet met,

Ratkovic confirmed that the subsequently received comments have already been compiled. It will be necessary, however, to revise and improve the analysis wherever agreement has been or has not been reached. A more final version of the analysis will only be prepared then, in March, for the Commission and the Serbian Assembly.

Ratkovic stressed at the same time that when it is a question of work like this, there is really no reason for haste. Obviously thorough work is needed in an atmosphere of complete tolerance and efforts to clarify positions and to reach an agreement wherever possible, and where this is not possible, it is necessary to examine in principle what the essence of the difference is. Ratkovic stressed that the most important thing is for work to continue in the new drafting group in the same atmosphere of understanding and agreement to clarify things that prevailed in the previous working group and which was in and of itself a direct contribution to the positive developments in the co-ordination of differences in the republic and the provinces.

Cooperation and Unity

Nevertheless, how much does the analysis -- in spite of the undeniable fact that it brought up in an intelligible and generally acceptable way issues that were definitely "sensitive," so to speak, until yesterday, concerning the position, right, duties, and responsibilities of the republic and the socialist autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina -- open real prospects for overcoming the differences in views of the implementation of the community and constitutional position of the Socialist Republic of Serbia? Aren't the differences greater than the initial optimism and the desire to reach an agreement?

We spoke about this with Miodrag Visnjic, a member of the Executive Council of Serbia. He stressed that the analysis is extremely significant, since it very specifically identifies the issues on which there are different views, as well as positions of the republic and provincial organs. Visnjic stressed that this was virtually the first time since the adoption of the Serbian Constitution that a comprehensive analysis has been made of its implementation from this aspect, which was very useful and necessary.

"Everything that has been achieved," Visnjic stated, "gives grounds for optimism. It should be said, however, that these are only the first results, in view of the need and the real possibilities for building the self-managing cooperation and unity in the republic on the basis of the Serbian Constitution. Furthermore, some significant differences on principles remain with respect to some of the crucial issues. Differences in views exist in regard to the content of the work and the method of decisionmaking in the Serbian Assembly on issues and relations that are arranged in a uniform manner for the entire republic; the functions of certain republican organs and the way in which these functions are exercised throughout the territory of the republic; and also in regard to the uniform regulations of the republic."

About 20 laws are now being prepared or going through the procedure of adoption,

some provisions of which are supposed to be applied uniformly throughout the territory of the republic, and on the content of which the corresponding republic and provincial organs have different views.

Aren't there also still differences in views on the substantive understanding of the words used so frequently -- cooperation and unity? It seems that there is no dispute when we speak of the implementation of self-managing cooperation in the republic, but we asked Visnjic, aren't there obvious differences when speaking of the unified functions of the republic as a state?

"The constitutional concept of the development of our society assumes that on all levels and in all sectors there will be a continuing increase in the cohesive and integrating force of associated labor and self-management in the entire Yugoslav community. Not just from the aspect of society's historical aspirations and the program commitments, but also in current social practice, the state should be less and less the central institution of society, and its functions should be taken over more and more by an organized self-managing structure. This is an essential commitment in the development and exercise of the constitutional functions of all sociopolitical communities, from the opstina to the federation. It is wrong, however, to oppose the role of the state to this undisputed commitment where the state's role is historically necessary at this stage of development and established by the Constitution. And this is precisely what is going on in regard to the exercise of the unified functions that the republic should perform, on the basis of and within the framework of the Serbian Constitution. Simplified opposition of self-management and the state gives rise to artificial divisions into someone being for a self-managing republic and someone else for a statehood republic. Serbia as a state cannot have more functions than provided by the Constitution, nor fewer.

The substantive clarification of the concepts of cooperation and unity was also discussed at the above-mentioned session of the Commission for Constitutional Issues of the Serbian Assembly. We note the following words from the opening statement by Slavoljub Raskovic:

"The cooperation and unity of the republic should not be opposed to each other, as it is not good to overemphasize one and neglect the other. The autonomy and responsibility of the socialist autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina is naturally not disputed, but these observations have particular value in regard to Serbia. Likewise, while the fact that self-management sense increase our internal cohesion is of capital significance, one should not lose sight of the fact that we are at a level of the development of social relations in which the state, as the Constitution defines it, has a real meaning and role of its own, and so self-management and such a state cannot be mechanically opposed."

When it is emphasized that cooperation in the republic is part of the unified process of the achievement of cooperation throughout all of Yugoslavia, it is essential, Raskovic added, to stress in particular that Serbia, as a socio-political and self-managing community, is a unified organism, and so it is necessary, while taking into account its complexities, to keep a resolute distance with respect to all tendencies toward a comparison with the Yugoslav

federal community. Consequently, it is necessary for us to be critically oriented toward the terms "jointly established policy," "the adoption of a law with full equality of the republic and provincial organs," and so forth, which as categories correspond completely to the Yugoslav federation, but introduce unclearness when applied to the constitutional system of Serbia.

Coordination or "Outvoting"

Most of the discussions of relations within Serbia were grouped around the conception of republic legislation and the most frequently mentioned articles 300 and 301 of the Serbian Constitution. Specifically, article 300 establishes the relationships that are arranged by republic law uniformly for the entire area of the republic, while article 301 provides that on the basis of an agreement between the republic and the socialist autonomous province, a republic law can also regulate other relations for the entire territory of the Serbian Socialist Republic.

Since 1974, 48 laws have been passed, which in their entirety or in individual provisions apply equally to the entire territory of the republic, of which in general 12 are applied on the basis of article 300 and 2 on the basis of article 301, while the rest are applied uniformly in certain provisions. The fact is that thus far relations have been regulated by article 300 of the Serbian Constitution, except for issues and relations in the area of national defense and those for the regulation of which neither republic nor provincial officials have thus far started initiatives.

Differences in views, however, are appearing in regard to the extent, nature, and content of the solutions of the laws by which relations are regulated uniformly in accordance with article 300. In the opinion of the members of the working group from the republic organs, the republic laws that are applied uniformly do not correspond to the content and scope of the uniform functions of the republic established by the Constitution, in view of political practice, to a considerable extent well developed, which has hindered the development of the economic, social, and political unity of Serbia. In contrast, the provincial organs stress that certain results have been achieved in the uniform regulation of relations and cite those 48 laws. This, it is emphasized, means that in its extent and the content of its solutions, legislative activity is in accordance with the position of the republic and provinces as established by the Constitution; and as for the political practice that has hindered the development of the economic, social, and political unity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, that applies only to individual regulations.

The practice to date in the procedure for adopting individual "uniform laws" indicates very eloquently the extent of the differences in views between the republic and provincial organs. Thus, according to the provisions of the Constitution and the regulations on the procedure for the adoption of laws based on article 300, the Serbian Assembly considers the opinion of the assemblies of the provinces, but these opinions are not binding. In practice, nevertheless, some laws are not put through the regular procedure until full agreement has been reached between the proposers and the assemblies of the

provinces which, in the opinion of some republic organs, has to a great extent blocked the activity of the Serbian Assembly. In essence, coordination is usually done outside the assembly mechanism. In contrast to this, the provincial organs have presented the counterposition that the view on blocking the work of the Serbian Assembly is one-sided. The practice in coordinating positions has contributed to greater unity in the Serbian Assembly in the adoption and more effective application of laws. It is essential, it is felt in the provinces, to give priority to the practice of coordinating positions over the practice of outvoting on some of the essential issues for the development of relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The other side stresses that this is not a question of "outvoting" or "majority rule." It is unacceptable, in any case, for laws to be passed by the consultative decisionmaking of the republic and provincial assemblies. This would be a sort of revision of the delegate procedure established by the Constitution. Serbia is a united sociopolitical community, and not a complex federated state, and laws are passed directly by a democratic majority.

Not Only State-Legal Norms

Rudi Sova expressed his convictions at the meeting of the Commission for Constitutional Issues that in legislative activity in the republic as a whole, when passing laws in accordance with article 300 of the Serbian Constitution, it is necessary to continue to support and develop a method of operation by which the organs of the republic and the provinces could cooperate closely, and work together in all phases of this business, beginning with the initiative and the first concept, until the draft and the proposed law take shape. Furthermore, cooperation is still necessary in the activities that precede all this, in discussions in the sociopolitical organizations while assessing the need for a social relationship to be regulated by law even during the creation of the proposed idea.

Sova stresses, however, that in spite of the differences in interpreting the Constitution and the differences in views on the past situation and practice in implementing cooperation and the constitutional position of Serbia, there have been common views nevertheless on most issues. It has been made clear that cooperation cannot be reduced and narrowed only to the state-legal aspect. Therefore, in implementing the constitutional concept of the republic, but also elsewhere, in Yugoslavia as a whole, we should always keep in mind that the emphasis in cooperation is on implementing the interests of associated labor, the associations and communities that constitute associated labor, and on the decisive role of the worker in associated labor. Cooperation in Serbia cannot be considered only or primarily in terms of the relations of the republic and provincial organs, nor can it be ensured and developed more quickly exclusively or primarily by the adoption of state-legal norms, but rather, most of all, by the development of self-management socialist relations with consultation and agreement, thus strengthening the cohesion and the entirety of the socioeconomic, political, and self-management structure of the republic, in which the socialist autonomous provinces have rights and responsibilities by the Constitution.

Rudi Sova supported his viewpoint with information on the cooperation of OURs [Organizations of Associated Labor] from the Vojvodina economy with a large number of OURs in all of our republics, emphasizing that the mutual cohesion of associated labor within the framework of the republic is considerably greater and more developed than indicated by the assessments and views previously expressed concerning this. Similar cooperative relations are also being implemented in other social activities.

Two Concepts

Why is it that even though 10 years have passed since the adoption of the Constitution, certain vital issues concerning relations in the republic have not yet been regulated by law? How is it that in spite of the explicit support in the conclusions of the 18th session of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC and in the Resolution of the 9th Congress of the Serbian LC for the adoption of laws under article 201 that extend the area of the cooperation and unity of the republic, by agreement, thus far only six such laws have been passed? What is the essence of the disagreements in consultation and agreement on individual concrete issues?

For Miodrag Visnjic, all of these differences are a consequence of two constitutional-legal concepts and views of the Serbian SR as a whole. One of these reduces the republic and its relations with the socialist autonomous provinces to the minimum legislative regulation established in article 300 of the constitution of the Serbian SR, ascribing to it in doing so only the formal features of a state and an integral sociopolitical community. The other sees the position of the Serbian SR as a state and a sociopolitical and self-managing community in implementation of the entire constitutional system within the framework of the SFRY Constitution, the constitution of the Serbian SR, and the provincial constitutions.

Najdan Pasic also presented the viewpoint, at the meeting of the commission, that the difficulties in building unity and cooperation in the republic on the basis of the Constitution are arising because there are two approaches and two lines on how to implement unity and cooperation. One line allegedly gives first priority to the state-legal side of relations and all the issues associated with the division of jurisdictions and relations between the republic and the provinces, and the other, he stated, is committed to the self-managing resolution through agreement of all the issues of building cooperation in the republic on this basis. The division thus described actually presents a very harmful dilemma. Pasic emphasized, however, that there can be no self-management integration unless the state-legal foundations for it are secured. We cannot successfully develop cooperation on a self-managing basis through agreement, and at the same time try to build three separate legal systems that are not sufficiently coordinated with each other, since this gives rise to many difficulties in the process of self-management integration, and many negative occurrences and controversies which have been noted in all political documents in recent years, and even in the long-term economic stabilization program and in the conclusions of the 10th session of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

The key problem in further clarification, Radoslav Ratkovic felt, will continue to concern the relationship of the self-management and legal dimensions in the Serbian SR. In connection with this, some tendencies are heading toward ignoring the fact that the Serbian SR is not only a self-managing democratic social community, but also a state. The insistence that the establishment of cooperation and unity be viewed solely through self-management channels and methods jeopardizes the constitutionally established nature of the state of the Serbian SR as a republic which also embraces the socialist autonomous provinces as part of itself.

Nevertheless, this is only one side of the views of the essence of the development of relations in the Serbian SR. According to the other side, which was presented at the meeting of the Commission by Bajram Selimi, among others, it is necessary to keep the self-management component more in mind, and to resolve individual issues as much as possible through social accords and self-management agreements. Selimi furthermore added that the adoption of laws under article 300 of the Serbian SR Constitution is nevertheless a state norm, while we are striving to regulate social relations as much as possible through self-management agreements and social accords. This issue has its own weight, and one should be evenhanded in the application of these articles of the Constitution.

It remains to be seen, however, how much these different views will be coordinated in the time that remains before the delegates to the Assembly of the Serbian SR express a position.

[Statement by Miodrag Visnjic, in boxed article: "What Has Been Achieved"]

Certain results have been achieved in the broader pooling of labor and funds between work organizations from Serbia proper and work organizations from the provinces, which is an essential precondition for building and strengthening unity and cooperation in the republic as a whole. According to the established joint interests and goals in the Social Plan of the Serbian SR, and in view of the necessity of more rapid agreement on economic policy of common interests as well of the real need for associated labor, agreements have been concluded on the basis of the Social Plan of the Serbian SR for the period 1981-1985, in the fields of the development of energy, the agroindustrial complex, the production of raw materials and semimanufactures, the metal processing complex, the water economy, and transportation. In addition to this, an agreement has also been concluded on encouraging the self-management pooling of labor and funds on a profitable basis in the Serbian SR for the purpose of carrying out the joint policy of more rapid development of Kosova in the period 1981-1985, the implementation of which is under way.

After the 18th session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, cooperation between the republic organs and those in the provinces was intensified and enhanced. Cooperation is taking place in all phases of the preparation and adoption of laws that are uniformly applied. Laws have been passed on the Executive Council of the Serbian SR Assembly, on the organization of the republic administration, and on changes and additions to the law on citizenship, while the law on nationwide defense and the law on changes and additions to the law on internal

affairs are about to be adopted, and in these different views have been reduced to a minimum.

[Boxed article: "Expansion of Authority"]

The Commission for Constitutional Issues of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo, assessing the analysis of the implementation of the cooperation and constitutional position of the Serbian SR, considers as positive the fact that in this document efforts have been made to examine and assess in a more thorough and well-reasoned manner past practices in the development of cooperation and the implementation of the constitutional concept of the Serbian SR and the autonomous provinces not only from the standpoint of the relations of republic and provincial organs and institutions and through legislative activity, but also through the development of the cooperation through self-management ties, primarily those of organizations of associated labor and self-management organizations and communities, and within the framework of the constitutionally-established relations between the republic and provincial organs.

Among other things, the commission noted that one cannot accept the position in principle concerning the need to reexamine the laws thus far passed under article 300 of the Constitution of the Serbian SR, since these laws were passed in accordance with the constitutionally established position of the republic and the autonomous provinces, and with the full consent of the appropriate republic and provincial organs.

Since the Serbian SR Constitution does not contain an explicit constitutional basis for the adoption of a law on the social plan of the republic that would be applied uniformly throughout the entire area of the Serbian SR, a political agreement has to be reached on the content of this law and on the way in which it is adopted in a matter relating to economic policy. The Vojvodina Commission feels that a solution should be sought in line with the agreements reached in 1980. According to these positions, this law could not contain material norms on the elements of economic policy of joint interest, but only procedural provisions. Economic policy of joint interest is established by agreements concluded by the Assembly of the Serbian SR and the assemblies of the provinces. The Social Plan of the republic, a matter that would reflect economic policy of joint interest, has to be based on these agreements.

In the opinion of the members of the Commission for Constitutional Issues of the Kosovo SAP, the analysis of the implementation of cooperation and the constitutional position of the Serbian SR exceeded the requests of the Serbian LC Central Committee as established by the conclusions of the 18th session. Many issues were raised unnecessarily, in place of the precisely designated problems, and certain issues were also brought up that cannot be brought into the realm of uniform regulation. In individual parts, the analysis did not sufficiently take into account the self-management component of building cooperation, even though at the beginning, it was indicated as one of the basic starting points, side by side with the state component. This led to some solutions being viewed and sought exclusively in uniform functions,

broadening them to such dimensions that in some spheres the autonomy of the provinces is jeopardized.

Expressing several concrete criticisms of the proposed document, the Kosovo Commission, among other things, stressed the unacceptability of the request for a revision of the whole of the uniform regulations. The commission feels that the relations established by the current legal regulations on the basis of article 300 of the Serbian SR Constitution are in accordance with the uniform functions of the republic. Any attempt to expand the authority, on the basis of an extended interpretation of article 300, jeopardizes the constitutionally established position of the autonomous provinces.

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